

Imprimatur,

Robertus Pory, S. T. P.  
Reverendissimo in Christo  
Patri, Domino Gulielmo  
Archiepiscopo Cant.  
Sacellanus Domesticus.

Th.  
8<sup>o</sup> B. 290.

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THREE  
SERMONS  
PREACHED

In the Cathedral Church of  
WINCHESTER.

*The First on Sunday, Aug. 19. 1660.  
at the first return of the Dean and  
Chapter to that Church, after the  
Restoration of His Majesty.*

*The Second on Jan. 30. 1661. being  
the Anniversary of King Charles  
the First, of glorious memory.*

*The Third at the general Assize held  
there, Feb. 25. 1661.*

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By EDWARD STANLEY, D.D.  
Prebendary of that Church.

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To the Right Honourable, and the  
Right Reverend Father in God,  
GEORGE, Lord Bishop of Win-  
chester, ~~and one of the Lords of~~  
~~His Majesties most Honourable~~  
~~Privy Council.~~

MY LORD,

**T**Hese Sermons were  
preached in your Ca-  
thedral, though be-  
fore it was yours :

And you will give me leave to  
take this occasion to Congratu-  
late your coming thither. I wish  
your Lordship may sit long at  
the Helm of Government there,  
and that you may find the wa-  
ters untroubled. But the Church  
being yours now at the Printing  
of them, the Sermons ought to

*The Epistle, &c.*

be yours too, if they were worth your owning, or a publick Dedication.

Such as they are I present them to your Lordship, and crave your Protection for the Author of them, for 'tis possible he may want it. And though they were not designed to be publick when they were preached by me, as you will find in the Preface, yet now they are so. If there be any *Errata* in them, as there may be some in Sermons of so hasty a Conception, as I assure your Lordship these were, you will be pleased to pardon them to

*Your Lordships most humble  
and most devoted Servant,*

EDWARD STANLEY.

## To the Reader.

**I** Do not think there is any thing in these Sermons so worthy of the publick view, that they should be thus expos'd, without some other Inducement for it. Neither can I say, they are published by special command, for they were preach'd far from Court. But two of them being commanded from me by a kind of necessity, and in my own defence, I was willing the third should be cast into the bargain, being all of them of kin, and the subject much the same. Those which I understand myself to be charged with are the two latter, and peradventure there was as much fault found with the former; for we live in a Capricious Age, in which the Confines of sin must not be touch'd,

## To the Reader.

neither must we come near it, or tread, though never so gently, upon the utmost lines of it. The conception of these Sermons was somewhat hasty, and without any long preparation, therefore the more to be excused. The persons concerned are not so, that have put me to this open Penance; who are so far from repentance for their evil doings, that they are impatient of the most modest reproof of them.

Whether there be any thing here, that was peccant against the rules of Charity or Sobriety, or that was unfit for me to speak, or them to hear, I make thee the Judge.

11

*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the first return of the Dean and Chapter to that Church after the Restauration of His Majesty.*

PSAL. 14. ~~11.~~ 7.

*Quis dabit ex Sion salutare Israel? Cum averterit Dominus captivitatem plebis suæ, exultabit Jacob, & lætabitur Israel.*

*Who shall give salvation unto Israel out of Sion? When the Lord turneth the captivity of his people, then shall Jacob rejoyce, and Israel shall be glad.*



**T**hough I never despaired of Gods mercy to this poor Church and State, yet I durst not promise my self so much happiness to see it; and I thought rather



*The First Sermon.*

of writing my own Epitaph near a Pulpit, then of speaking out of it any more in this place: Yet so the Divine Providence hath ordered it, that I should out-live the Storm in which thousands have perished, that were more righteous then my self. This is one of Christs miracles, that he hath stilled the raging of the Sea; that though we were unworthily cast out, yet we are met again, *in nave Ecclesia*: And whether it be the Quire, or the Body of the Church, it matters not; but here we are by Gods mercy, and the Ship it self is, we hope, secured; though much torn and ransack'd, as you see. Let God onely have the glory of it, while my first Sermon shall be a Thanksgiving; it ought to be so, not one Thanksgiving in a year, but it should be a year of Jubilee's and Thanksgivings: For such a Deliverance as we have had all  
the



the dayes in the year would be too few.

I will devote this to it, and confine my self to that Subject; and this Text will supply me with fit materials, for it lands us at *Exultabit Jacob, & latabitur Israel*; The rejoycing of *Jacob*, and the gladness of *Israel*.

Gladness and Rejoycing is an Argument that hath been out of date with us for many years together; our Harps have been hung upon the Trees that are therein, *Psal. 137*. nay, 'tis Gods mercy that we our selves have escaped it, and have been suffered to sit weeping by the waters of *Babylon*; for we have been in a Captivity also. All that we could do for you was but to remember it, and to weep for it; and while we were unjustly charged with looking toward *Babylon*, and the cry was loud in every bodys ear, to come out of her, we were:

were carried into her whether we would or no ; at least we have had all the Temptations that could be to drive us thither ; nay, have we not been forced to it *Vi & armis*, while we have been driven from our Habitations, expell'd from our Houses and lawful Possessions? And so if Conscience had not kept us back, the necessity and wants of too many of us had been enough to fix us there. And yet, God be thanked, the Temptation is overcome ; in spite of Malice it self, and the Calumnies of wicked men, we are where we were still at *Sion*, in our Judgments the same men, as to our Religion, though forced and driven away from it in our Persons. We have been, I say, in a kind of Captivity for a great many years, and all we could do was to look towards *Sion*, and, as *Danick* did in his Chamber, the Windows being open

open, to pray toward it; but to come at it, and to discharge our duties there, we were not suffered.

Well, after a long Captivity, you see, it hath pleased God to bring us hither again; and what Thanks can be enough for us to render him for this mercy? *If I* <sup>Psalm 137.</sup> *forget thee, O Jerusalem, and him* <sup>6.</sup> *that brought me hither, then let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.* The People said it of Jerusalem when they were in Babylon, and we that are returned to Sion have reason to say it much more. *Then if I prefer not Jerusalem in my mirth,* as it follows there; if I take not all occasions to do it, I were very unthankful. And here my Text leads me to it; 'tis a word in season, *Like* <sup>Pro. 25.</sup> *apples of Gold in pictures of Silver:* <sup>11.</sup> Therefore let us view these Pictures well, and feed upon these Apples; and 'tis not,

*Pictures*

—— *Pictura pascit inani;*  
but if any thing, Golden Apples  
will satisfie.

And here we have them in this  
Text, and upon this occasion:

*Quis dabit salutare Israel? Who  
will give salvation unto Is-  
rael, out of Sion? When  
the Lord, &c.*

This Psalm begins with *Dixit  
insipiens, The fool hath said in his  
heart, There is no God.* The prospe-  
rity of the wicked is the seed of  
Atheism; and while Gods own  
People lay under a Captivity for  
no less then 70. years together,  
and their enemies, the *Babyloni-  
ans*, carried all before them; no  
wonder if such fools sprung up  
every where, where the seed was  
sown, such as denied God in their  
hearts.

This hath been the old quarrel  
against Heaven: *Crimen illud De-  
arum Scylla felix*, as *Seneca* sayes;  
That wicked men should prosper  
in.

in the world, and good men be of the suffering side, is a fault, we think, which Heaven cannot answer. Who would serve God upon such hard conditions? *Ergo frustra, Then have I cleansed my heart in vain, Psal. 73. 13.* If I must serve God for nought, nay, for that which is worse then nothing; if I must be persecuted for my Religion, for my Allegiance, and performing that which was my duty both to God and Man, while the Violators of both are in a better condition; no wonder if we see a large field of Atheism presently, and such fools spring up in every corner. The Devil waters the seed; these prosper in the world, sayes he, presently, and no body thrives but themselves; and therefore they conclude from thence, either that there is no God, or, if there be, that he cares not for humane affairs.

*Scilicet is superis labor est.*——

They

They do but laugh at Religion,  
and the professors of it.

Hence you may see the sad effects of it, in this Psalm you may make the Parallel of it yourselves, (for I desire not to rub upon the sore more then I must needs) and observe, how our Atheists and theirs have jump'd. *Their throat is an open sepulchre,* Verse 4. *With their tongues they deceive, the poyson of Asps is under their lips.* There's Honey and Gall very near one another: 'tis not *Fel in corde*, that's further off, Poyson in their hearts; but under their lips; while the Honey is upon them they deceive with their tongues. Then, *Their feet are swift to shed bloud*, at the next Verse. No Atheist makes any Conscience of that: they do not fear lest their Brothers bloud, like *Abels*, should cry to God, while they make God no better then the Image of *Baal*, that cannot

not hear the cry of it. Hence *veloces pedes*, their feet are very swift upon such a design, no murder shall stick with them; nor any other destruction neither, though it tend to the ruine and desolation of whole Kingdoms. For that's the way they tread in, *In-felicitas in vitiis, Destruction and unhappiness is in their wayes, and the way of peace have they not known*. No, that's a way they were never acquainted with; but, like *Jehu*, they drive furiously, from one wickedness to another; but to look back to the wayes of Peace and Accommodation, is a crime unpardonable; *For there is no fear of God before their eyes*, in that Verse: there the fool peeps out of them again; there is no God, and there is no fear of him, 'tis all one; for if there were a God, they must fear him whether they would or no.

And



*The First Sermon.*

And yet they fear their own shadows in the mean time: *They were afraid where no fear was,* Verse 9. Atheists are the most cowardly men in the world; you know what we owe to their fears and jealousies. They study nothing but self-preservation, and fear them that can kill the body onely; but to fear Hell-fire, and him that can cast them into that for their evil deeds, that's *Terriculamentum puerorum*, but a Bugbear to affright Children. Hence they turn *Cannibals* at the 8. Verse, all such workers of wickedness, that *They eat up my people as it were bread*; and if they eat the bread that should sustain them, 'tis all one.

Why then is it a wonder, if in the midst of such calamities men cry out for a deliverance, and wait for the person that brings it? That we have in the Text, and 'tis pardonable if they seem to grow



grow impatient for it, after so many years Captivity. *Quis dabit salutare Israel? Who shall give salvation unto Israel? &c.*

Here then we have,

1. The Captives mourning:
2. His Deliverance and Triumph.

1. The Captives mourning in the first words, *Who shall give salvation unto Israel?*

2. The Deliverance and Triumph in the later, *When the Lord turneth the Captivity of his people, &c.*

In the first Part,

1. Thing to be considered is the thing they want or long for, that's Salvation or Deliverance.

2. The person that should bring it or work it for them; and who that should be they cannot tell themselves, onely *Quis dabit*, they enquire after him, and in what quarter of the world he is to be found; who shall give salvation?

3. Ha-

3. Having better bethought themselves, they will not look abroad for him, but *ex Sion*: Thence he must come when all's done, out of *Sion*; not out of *Babylon*, the place of their Captivity, but out of *Sion*.

In the second Part we have,

1. The misery the People lay under, and from which they desired to be delivered; that's no less then Captivity and absolute Slavery.

2. The Author of their deliverance, that no other then God himself, for Man could not do it; *Cum averterit Dominus, When the Lord turneth the Captivity.*

3. The manner how he brings it to pass, which is very strange and unusual, he turns it, as if he would turn a River to the Spring-head.

4. The next thing is the Persons that are delivered, they his own People, *Jacob and Israel*, as  
it

it follows, *Captivitatem plebis suae*, The captivity of his people. For which you have

5. The Peoples Triumph in the last place, and that expressed in two words, that you may not think 'twas an ordinary triumph in them, *Exultabit & letabitur*, Then shall Jacob rejoyce, and Israel shall be glad.

I must begin with the Mourning part, the Deliverance and Triumph shall follow after.

*Who shall give salvation unto Israel out of Sion?* Where the

First thing to be considered is the thing they long for, which is Salvation or Deliverance.

And because Contraries do best illustrate one another, we will joyn the Captivity with it, and handle them together; the Captivity with the Salvation, and so 'tis But Salvation and Deliverance out of Captivity. Did I say But?

Why,

Grot. de  
jure belli,  
lib. 3.

Why, can there be any deliverance greater then that? Captivity is the greatest cross that can befall us in the world: for we are carried from our selves by it, and put out of our own power. He that is Captive is under the dominion of another, and slavery is the best he can look for, for he may kill him if he please: He hath *potestatem vite & necis*, according to the *Roman Law*; *Servus quod servatus*, sayes *Donatus*; he may do what he will with him, either kill him, or keep him alive. And the *Babylonian Law* certainly was no better, we have reason to think it was worse, if worse might be, because they were a less-civilized People: And *Jeremy*, that was one of the Children of the captivity, and felt it, did not write his *Lamentations* for nothing; *O vos omnes, qui transitis*; 'twould move a stone that which he sayes there, or any that have not hearts  
of

of stone; and 'twas spoken of the People in Captivity, though afterwards applied to the sufferings of Christ:) O all you that pass by the way, see and consider, if there be any sorrow like unto mine, Lam. I. 12. with which God hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger: 'tis vindemiavit me in the Vulgar, as if he had trodden them in a Wine-press; and we have that word in the 15. Verse of the Chapter, He hath trodden the Wine-press of the Virgin; that is, He hath broken and bruised her therein. Surely Gods anger was very fierce when it came to that, and the *Babylonians* mercies were very cruel. Do but remember the fiery Furnace in *Daniel*, and the Den of Lions, into which himself was cast; and then you will conceive the Captivity to be, as it deserves to be conceived, very sad.

Dan. 6. 10

And 'twas very long and lasting  
too,

too, for no less then 70. years it continued ; and they saw several Changes in it, till at last God raised up the spirit of *Cyrus* to deliver them , as you may read *Ezra* 1. 1. And under such a Captivity is it a wonder if the People long for a Redeemer ? Of their redemption from the slavery of Sin I speak not, by the great Redeemer of *Israel*, *Christ Jesus*, of which this Redemption was a Type, and which ought to stir up our longing much more, but of our redemption from the slavery of Men onely, which is intended as the proper work of this day.

And surely the news of a deliverance would be very welcom, though it be but Temporal, to men that are in Captivity, as the *Jews* were here. The Mournings of such may be heard far, when but their Sighs reach to the ears of God himself: *Let the powerfull fighting*

*sighing of the Prisoners come before thee, Psal. 79.* But their mourning is like the mourning of *Haddadrimmon, great mourning, Zech. 12.11.* And then 'tis no wonder, I say, if the People long for a Deliverance, the next thing in the Text.

2. *Quis dabit salutare Israel? Who shall give salvation unto Israel?* You may turn it into a sigh if you will, according to another reading of it, *O that the salvation were come!*

And such Aspirations cannot be concealed in hearts that be oppressed with grief: Sorrow will break out at the lips as well as at the eyes of men. — *Ingentes stupent,* — They may sometimes silence us, 'tis true, but yet they will be heard ever and anon, either in a sigh in one reading, or in a distinct voice in another, 'tis all one; but Deliverance is the thing they would have, every  
B body



body understands that, *Who shall give salvation?*

3. *Ex Sion*, we will put that into it too. The *Jews* looked for their salvation out of *Sion*, though they were Captives at *Babylon*, yet their salvation they thought must come from *Jerusalem*. They were right, as to their spiritual Redemption from sin, and they had read *Balaam's* Prophecy no doubt, *Orietur stella ex Jacob*, *There shall come a star out of Jacob*, and a sceptre shall arise out of *Israel*, and shall smite the corners of *Moab*, and destroy all the children of *Seth*, *Num. 24. 17*. Therefore out of *Sion* their Redeemer was to come, so far they were right.

Onely they mistook the Redemption he was to work for them ; and so did many others after them , even the Disciples themselves, when they cried, *Nos sperabamus*, *But we trusted that it*

*was*



was he that should have redeemed Israel; that was from their Temporal Captivity, as they imagined, bringing a Temporal Kingdom with him, in the mean time forgetting what the Angel said at his birth, *He shall save the people from their sins.*

No, their sins they were not so sensible of, but of their present sufferings by men; and therefore *Ibi digitus*, he that will deliver them from them, is the onely Redeemer they look after. Why, he must come from *Babylon*, or from the *Medes* rather, pointed at long before he was born for this deliverance, *Isaiah 44.28. That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, saying to Ferusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, The foundation shall be laid.* Well, if we may be assured of that, that we shall be delivered, 'tis no matter whence the Deli-

verer comes, *Dummodo constat de re*, so we may be assured of the thing, no matter for persons, or places either : *Out of Sion*, we will leave that out of the Text, rather then fail of what we desire, *Who shall give salvation unto Israel?*

I have done with the Mourning part, I should now come to the Deliverance and Triumph : But all this concerns the *Jews* Mourning onely ; 'tis but *Planges in plateis*, in *Ecclesiastes*, *Man goes to his long home, and the Mourners go about the streets*. We must bring them home to our Houses too, and make a part of this Pomp our selves, or we do nothing.

And if ever any People had cause to mourn, this Nation had it too. Let the *Babylonish* Captivity hereafter not be mentioned, we in *England* have outdone them ; in this at least, that  
the

the *Jews* were Captives to strangers, we to our own Countrymen: *Magnum est iisdem uti facis, sepulchra habere communia:* cic.de Off. l.1.

Why, all that is nothing; The same Religion and the same Graves could not excuse us, but we were made slaves unto them.

Nay, those that ruled over us for the most part were our servants: *Dominati sunt servi nostri,* Lam. 5. *Servants have ruled over us.* And then, abating that we were not carried abroad, and forced into Exile, though that hath been the case with too many of us, and with Him especially who should have ruled over us in the meantime, wherein come we short of the *Jews*?

I would not be thought ambitious to aggravate our miseries: Indeed I cannot; and there was never less need of an Orators Invention then on this subject, because when we have said all we

can, as the Queen of *Sheba* said of *Solomons* Wisdom, *Half is not told you.*

I wish I had not such a Field to walk in; a Field, not to gather flowers in, but a *Golgotha*, a place of dead mens Skuls, or of Bones; an *Aceldama*, a Field of bloud, in which every step I make, I must be over shooes in it. And how then can I be silent? *Utinam esset ratio minuendi*, as he said in his Panegyrick, Let some body shew me the way to lessen them, for there's no fear of multiplying our miseries.

Plin Pa-  
negyr.

But 'twas an absolute Captivity we were in as well as the *Jews*: Our Lives at the devotion of others, and there was not a year past but there must be some new Rubricks in our Calendar; they speak of Red-letter-men, they have made the Calendar red indeed with the bloud of persons of all ranks, of Citizens, of Gentle-

Gentlemen, of Clergy-men, of Nobles ; shall I say of a King too? *O tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askelon.* Let Histories pass it over in silence, let the Annals of that year be buried in oblivion, let Forty eight be expunged out of our account, and the Thirtieth of *January* out of the Calendar of *England*; 'tis a day to be remembred with horror, a day of darkness and blackness for ever. This Rhetorick is to be pardoned me,

——— *Ignoscite, si quid*  
*Intumuit pietas,* ———

*Claudian.*

He is a fool that is not eloquent upon this subject, and a just Indignation forces it from me. Yet I pardon the Contrivers of it, and so may others too, for I my self was not innocent: If I had been, and you that hear me, that glorious Prince could not

B 4

have

have suffered : *But the Crown is fallen from our heads, and woe unto us because we have sinned,* as the Prophet makes the *Lamentation, chap. 5. ver. 16.* I remember 'twas the observation of Mr. *Vowell*, one that suffered for the King, *That there were some people in the world, who once a year sacrificed men to the Devils, like those who offered their children to Molech.* I did not think they had lived in this Island, till we saw those Anniversaries kept here.

But these are the effects of a Captivity, where mens lives are at the devotion of others : And then that their Estates were so 'tis no wonder : The other was the Anniversary, this the Daily, Sacrifice of these *Jews* ; we were  
 sal. 44. *killed all the day long* in this sense,  
 2. in our Livelihoods and our Estates : And it had been more mercy to some, that wanted bread in the mean time, if they  
 had

had been killed out-right.

But Captive men must be contented with any thing, nay, with nothing.

— *Quod captis sat est, —vivamus.*  
For the Conquerors told us, All was their own. And so they did not blush to tell God too, their *Levites* especially, when they thanked him for suffering them to sit under their own Vines, and their Fig-trees; when alas! all this while they were other mens.

*Alas, Master, it was borrowed,* I <sup>2 Kings</sup> will not say, it was stolen; while <sup>6.5.</sup> they have eaten other mens bread, and could not afford us the crums that fell from their Tables, not by their good wills, a Tenth part instead of a Fifth. I am sorry for their uncharitableness.

But what was become of their Religion in the mean time? Why that was gone with the rest, they have mixed —*sacra profanis,*



Joh. 20. 2.

and wrapped up all together, and are gone with it. *They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him,* Mary said weeping: We have no cause to laugh, when we tell you they had taken away his Service, his Sacraments, his Rites, and the Government of the Church, & the Maintenance thereof, and we know not where they have laid them too; surely 'twill be hard to find them again in such a Confusion as they have made; but God, we trust, will gather them out of the dust and rubbish of the Temple, and restore them to their ancient splendor, that we may worship God in the Beauty of Holiness again.

In the mean time no man will blame us, if while we sat by the waters of *Babylon*, during the time of our Captivity, we have been heard to sigh sometimes, and to aske after a Deliverance.

*Nemo felicitatis suae obliviscitur,*



as *Seneca* sayes, We cannot forget our former happiness. And this hath been our employment for want of a better, like *Children sitting in the Market-place*,

Luk. 7. 32.

because no man hath hired us. Who will give salvation? God help us, we have had too much leasure to enquire and to aske after it, *Quis dabit*, whence our deliverance should come, whether from the East, or from the West, from the North, or from the South; for we had our Times to hope for it from all Quarters: And then as one failed, by and by we were ready to say as *Mordecai* did to *Hester*, *Deliverance shall come another way*. But one way or other we had to expect it still, and *Quis dabit* was the onely song of *Sion* then, instead of all other Anthems of the Church, *Who shall give salvation?*

Heb. 4. 14

Indeed the *Jews* might have taught us not to expect it from *Babylon*,

Salust.

*Babylon*, though we thought sometimes it might come from thence. *Aut tu mederi potes, aut amittenda est cura omnibus*, as 'twas said of *Caesar* in the Historian, and that either a Catholick or a Christian King, or both together, would do it, and help him who was the true Defender of the Faith.

Gen. 14.  
23.

But this was an Error in us; and though the *Iews* had it not there, yet *ex Sion*, out of *Sion* was our deliverance to come. God would not have us to be beholding to the King of *Sodom*, or to any forreign State, to bring home *Abraham*, or to say, I have enriched the People: But our deliverance must come out of *Sion*; those of our own Religion, of our own Nation, must do it. And, God be thanked, they did; we know not how dear it might have cost us had it been otherwise. 'Tis not good to lay the Cloth to  
stran-

strangers ; it may be when they had eaten our Meat, the Dishes would not have sufficed them. But *Sion* must deliver it self, and free us from these Oppressions ; else the Remedy might have been as bad as the Disease, and the Patient have suffered by them both.

It was Gods infinite mercy this, and let him onely have the glory of it, that we fell into the hands of such Physicians that were tender of us, and have wrought this Cure upon a sick State without any Phlebotomies at all. We had been used so much to blood-letting before, that they knew 'twould do us no good ; and therefore it must be *sine sanguine*, without blood now, when our Sacrifices are restored, though *Pilate* mixed blood with them when the War began. We owe this under God to the Conduct of a wise General, whose  
me-

memory shall be glorious for it, and who conquer'd without fighting: It was *vidi, vici*, a maiden Victory he obtained, and his Eyes onely were triumphant. But this blessing we have *ex Sion*, that our deliverance came out of *Sion*; for though it were a Northern Army, they had none of the Northern Ice in them; but most, if not all, of them were our own Countrey-men and Friends.

I have said enough of the first part of the Text, and kept you too long in mourning. And yet if you consider how long we have kept our selves in it, and that 'tis but proportionable to that, you will pardon me. 'Twas a long Captivity, almost the third part of the *Babylonian*: And how many are delivered from the bondage of the Body, while they waited for this deliverance of the Nation? Our Fathers and Brethren are gone most of them while they

they expected it, like those *Israelites* that dyed in the Wilderness, and could never get further then the first part of this Text, *Who shall give salvation unto Israel out of Zion?* 'Tis Gods infinite mercy to me, which I must ever magnifie, that I live to preach upon the second, and to have a share in this Triumph.

Num. 14.

23.

2. *When the Lord turned the Captivity of his People, &c.* And my discourse now shall be most at home, the Argument of a Deliverance being more pleasing. And here,

1. God stands in the gap, the Author of this deliverance, *Cum averterit Dominus, When the Lord turneth the captivity.* The Jews might have said, *Cyrus* turned it, that sent them back, or *Darius*,<sup>2 Chron. 26.</sup> or *Artaxerxes* abroad; or else *Ezra* turned it, or *Nehemias*, or *Zerubbabel* at home: All these contributed much toward it, and yet

yet 'tis, *Cum averterit Dominus;*  
*When the Lord turneth the cap-*  
*tivity.*

'Tis not good to admire Instruments when the Workman himself is in place; as if a man should commend his Club, and take no notice of *Hercules*: and Men are but the Instruments of God, as a sword in the hand of a Giant. Gods scourges wicked men are, as 'twas said of *Tamberlane*, that he was *Flagellum Dei*; they may kill or save, be glorious Instruments of our deliverance, or cursed Instruments of our destruction. But the Hand and the Contrivance is Gods; Therefore let all flesh be silent, not so much as named, in a Deliverance especially. But let God onely have the glory of it, for he onely hath done it; no body else could. Men cannot work Miracles; but the Magicians said it was *Digitus Dei*, when it came

Exo. 8. 19.

to

*The First Sermon.*

to that : 'This is the Finger of God, and therefore let not the Arme of Flesh interpose in it.

Gods hand is in our ordinary deliverances, which he works for us every day ; and 'tis an issue of his Providence that we sleep in safety every night. *There is no Evil in the city which God hath not done*, and therefore no Good much more. But there be some deliverances which are written at length, and not in Figures, as they use to say, that is, they are legible to every eye, even a blind man may see them. Here Gods finger comes in too ; like *Apelles* upon the Table, no body could do it but himself, and therefore no body would touch the Pencil after him : Or like *Hercules*, we might know he had been there by the print of his foot. So God leaves the print of his hand and his finger behind him in some deliverances, which no Mortal dares  
to



*The First Sermon.*

to counterfeit; for if he should, every body would see the Forgery, and he deserved to be punished.

Dan. 5:5,  
6.

And such a Deliverance was ours: the Characters of it are so plain and distinct, that we cannot possibly mistake. When God wrote *Mene Tekel* upon the wall of the Kings Palace, while he caroused in the Vessels of the Sanctuary, the Text sayes, *The King saw part of the hand that wrote it, and his countenance was changed, and his knees smote one against another.* Here was Gods hand visible in a judgment, and I pray take notice, 'twas for Sacrilege: And did we think that any sin when time was? if we did, methinks we should have been afraid of the Hand too. But his hand is as visible in some mercies as in some judgments; when 'tis as it were *Θεὸς ὁ μὴ χαλῆς*, and no hand can do it but his: Not all the Magicians

cians in the world ; they by <sup>just</sup> their Art produce Frogs, and truck in ordinary wares like so many *Hocus-Pocus's* ; but when it comes to a deliverance, especially a extraordinary one, such as a dividing the Sea, and carrying the *Israelites* thorough it ; then *Moses* his hand onely must do it, by Gods immediate power and command : Then 'tis, *Extende manum tuam, Stretch out thy hand over the sea, and divide it.* And lest any man should think *Moses* had done it by his own hand, and not Gods, therefore *David* ascribes it to God onely, and not to *Moses*, *Psal. 136. 12. In manu potenti, & brachio excelso*, he brought out *Israel* from among them. He that did all the rest there, with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Alas ! *Moses* his hands were not so you know, they grew heavy, and were fain to be stayed up, not long after *Aaron* and *Hur* did it ; there-

Ex. 14. 16.

Ex. 17. 12.

to counte<sup>ye</sup> they were not mighty  
 eye of themselves, no more were his  
 arms neither. And though they  
 say Kings have long arms, and  
 may reach far; yet 'tis but with-  
 in their own sphere, when all's  
 done they can reach no further,  
 but they have bones and flesh in  
 them as well as other mens. 'Tis  
 God onely that can do things  
*brachio excelso, with a stretched-out*  
*arme*, and no body else.

And whether Gods arme were  
 not stretched out in our Delive-  
 rance I need not aske you. 'Tis  
 true, there was no such apparent  
 Miracle in it, as the dividing the  
 Sea, or cutting the *British* Ocean  
 in sunder, to bring over the King  
 on dry land: No, that was need-  
 less in his case, when he had so  
 many Ships ready to convey him.  
 And God doth not work Mira-  
 cles when ordinary remedies are  
 at hand, though that was Miracle  
 enough, even the sudden sub-  
 mission

mission of the Sea-men to his just power. It might be said of him in a qualified sense, which the People said of our Saviour when he asswaged the Tempest, *What manner of man is this, whom both the wind and the seas obey?* For there had been a Tempest as well at Sea as at Land. They use to say, *If it be foul weather upon the Land, 'tis worse at Sea:* Yet I know not how the Sea was appeased, and there was a Calm upon the sudden, and all conspired to the completing the Miracle here.

But upon the Land how many Miracles have been wrought? First, that more then 30. Tyrants, as they were once at Athens, should upon the sudden, when they thought their Power secured, and themselves scant Mortals, be wrought out by one, when that one should be arrested by death in the midst of Triumphs,

umphs, and he had as much need of a Remembrancer as the *Romans* had in theirs, That he was a Man, when the Son of that Man, or Monster rather, should so easily quit his power to them that could not keep it, but were forced to call in the old Riders again; for the Commonwealth, as it must be called, was tyred before, and yet they must again bow down their backs to them.

Well, the wheel of Providence was now going, and every Change seemed a Deliverance to us: It was so as to the event; for as if they had been playing a game at Chess, while their design was to check him, they did but take up one another to make room for the King.

But we for the present had little ease by it; we did but change for the worse still. The old flies were less to be dreaded, *quoniam hi pleni*, as the Horse said in the Fable,

Fable, while the new ones came with sharper Appetites upon us. Onely some comfort there was in Mal. 3. 6. the very Change. We are subject to it in our selves, and all that is about us: Onely God can say, *Ego non mutor, I am not changed*: We are, therefore we love it, and make a vertue of it, and are glad of Changes every hour. 'Tis strange none should be for the better, that among so many Casts there should be none good. We were used indeed as our Saviour was, sent from *Annas* to *Caiphas*, from *Caiphas* to *Pilate*, Luke 23. from *Pilate* to *Herod*, and then back again to *Pilate*; but where was Justice all this while? for the Judges we see. Indeed we had too much of that sometimes, and their very mercies were cruel. But here was no Deliverance, but from one Tormentor to another, not a good cast yet. Why, all were good, and they did Gods work,

work, and the Kings, when they were most against him.

We are now in this last year of Providences, so many and so great, that it may be much more justly called *Annus mirabilis* then that of 88. was. Providences abroad in the general peace of Christendom, that *Janus* his Temple might have been shut up again; which I take to be not the least of Gods Providences to us, for that peace conduced to ours: And Providences at home, even to a Miracle, that the Hills should be brought low, those Mountains of proud and self-interested men which were thought insuperable, that the Vallies should be exalted, and the way laid even, as it were, and *prepared for him*, as *Iohn the Baptist* said of our Saviour at his coming, and all rubs out of it, that all flesh might see the salvation of God, and the deliverance of this Nation. For it  
is



is Salvation, though but Temporal, that which was chiefly intended in this Text, and a deliverance out of Captivity, *Who shall give salvation unto Israel?*

And now you are all ready to answer, *Cum averterit Dominus*, it is Gods salvation, and it is he onely that hath given it, and therefore we give him onely the glory of it; not unto us, nor unto him we most admire in it, as his Instrument, but unto him. And let it be entred into our Records, and made the Title-page of the History of our Times, *Hoc fecit Dominus, This hath God* Mat. 21. *done, and it is marvellous in our* 42. *eyes.* And as our Saviour said of the Woman that anointed his feet, *Wheresoever this Gospel shall be read*, for it is good Tidings too, *there shall this also be told*; not which she, but he himself hath done for us. His Doing is much more conspicuous if we consider,

2. The Manner of it in the next circumstance of the Text, *Cum averterit, When he Turns the captivity.* The Turning of the *Jewish Captivity* was very strange and very sudden; for we find it in the last of the *Chronicles*, after he had described the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the Peoples carrying away, immediately at the next Verse, *Now the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, that he made a Proclamation, and said, Who is there among you of his people, the Lord his God be with him, and let him go up to Ierusalem, 2 Chron. 36.22.* This was all the preparation toward it, God stirred up the heart of *Cyrus*, and the Captivity was turned upon the sudden.

And so was ours too; God stirred up the hearts of some worthy Persons, and after some Turns among our Oppressors, that went off the stage as *Preludium's*

dium's to it, our Captivity was turned too. *Et tandem vicit fortuna Reipublica*, as the Historian said. Salust.

'Twas turned as a River to the Spring-head,

— *Xanthe retro propera*, —

Rivers do not use to do so, but they run to the Sea. And so did our Rivers, the current of the Nation was so, after such a tract of time, the course of the stream was almost grown naturall, into the Sea, or into a Gulph rather, like *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, that swallowed, and devoured every thing.

Here then was the Miracle, that God turned the stream upon it self, one Army upon another, the people upon those that had mis-led them, they came down like a Torrent, 'twas not safe for any body to stand in their way. 'Twas answerable to what the people prayed for, *Psal* 126. 5. *Turn our Captivity, O Lord, as*

*the Rivers in the South.* What was the naturall course of the Rivers in the South, I know not. But I know the Rivers in the North had a strange turn at this time, when a man might see the whole stream of the Nation run a contrary way upon the suddain, to what they had been used.

This is that, that makes us yet think we are but in a Dream, we cannot think we are awaked, to see such a turn as this is, but that we Dream of happinesse only. And yet we are awaked, God be thanked for it. And the Lord hath turned our Captivity.

Ours, that's the Captivity

3. Of his people. We do not deserve that title, whatever the  
*Jews did. But my people would not hear my voice, and Israel would not obey me.* God complains of them; And certainly we have not been very forward to hear it, else we had not been punished as they were. But

But whatever their punishments were, you see, God owns them for his people still. And God useth to punish his people more severely, then he doth others : Because their offence is more unpardonable, as a Rebellious Childs is then a Servants. *Et tu Fili*, such an ingratitude must needs go near the Father. *To whom much is given, of him much shall be required*, and therefore if he smart for it, he must thank himself. And yet 'tis *quos diligo*, still he loves them whom he chastiseth, and he will not renounce them for his Children for all that. Lu. 12. 48.

And yet some men have endeavoured to make us believe, That those that were under the Rod were none of his Children, and that Temporal Prosperity was the onely mark of Gods favour. This is one of the new Doctrines indeed, but the old was

quite contrary: And yet how often have we been told to our Heads, as we use to say, That our Cause was not good because the issue was not successful? In the mean time I have often wondred at their Foreheads, that would tye Goodness and Success alwayes together; which if it were true, must make Christians to be worse then Turks.

Well, howsoever I may be out-faced, I shall never fall into this Heresie, as long as I see *Plebis suae* in the Text, and Gods own People in a Captivity too. Therefore that must comfort us in the remembrance of our sufferings; and now that we are out of them, oblige us to that which this Text calls for in the last place,

4. The Peoples Triumph and Thankfulness, *Exultabit Iacob & latabitur Israel, Then shall Iacob rejoyce, and Israel shall be glad.*

Then it seems 'tis a Duty incumbent

cumbent upon us to give Thanks for a Deliverance. We say, He can do little, that cannot say, I thank you: And that Courtesie that is not worth Thanks, is worth nothing. And yet how many tongue-tyed men are there in the world, that cannot bring out such a word? when it comes to that, they have an impediment in their speech, and yet they can speak any thing else very plain. *Molestum hoc verbum, Rogo, Seneca* sayes: Some men do not love to aske a good turn, and others love as little to acknowledge it; but let the benefit lye in the middle, and we'll take it; as for *Rogo* or *Gratias ago*, at both ends of it, we think 'tis none of our business; especially to say, I thank you; there be very few that can pronounce it.

But to say, I thank God, methinks no body should be ashamed of that, *Who gives liberally,*



and upbraids not, *James* 1. 5.  
 ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντες, He doth  
 it simply without any reaches in  
 it: They be not *Munera in hamo*,  
 as mens gifts oftentimes use to  
 be. And then he doth not re-  
 proach us with them neither, nor  
 cast them in our dish when the  
 meat is eaten: And therefore we  
 should be sure to thank him, and  
 to say grace before we rise from  
 the Table; yet we forget it I  
 know not how. As among the  
 Lepers in the Gospel, *Ubi sunt no-*  
*vem?* scarce one in ten that re-  
 turns to give thanks.

But for \*Deliverances, such  
 blessings as these, that are not ser-  
 ved in to us once or twice a day,  
 as our meat is, but once or twice  
 it may be in our whole lives,  
 especially such a Deliverance as  
 this, there is not onely Thanks,  
 but Joy and Exultation due to it:  
 as the Prophet *Zachary* sayes,  
 zach. 9.9. *Exulta filia Sion, Rejoyce greatly,*  
 O

O daughter of Sion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: Behold thy King comes. 'Twas spoken indeed of the King of Kings, and their spiritual deliverance from their sins; but, *Ecce, rex tuus venit*, Behold, thy King comes, especially coming as he doth, after such an *In-terregnum* as we have had, doth deserve an Exultation from us too.

And to give the People their due, they have expressed it: I think no King was ever received with the like; so many re-iterated Triumphs; when they had done they begun again,

— *Nec dum finitus*, —

A man would think they would never have done; so loud in their Acclamations, so prodigal of their wood in their Bonfires, as if now that the King is come near them, they should never need any fire again, and his Sun would warm them still.

This was not to be blamed in them, for we have a Triumph warranted in the Text ; not onely *exultabit*, but *letabitur* ; when one is done t'other shall begin, like one Bonfire after another ; *Then shall Jacob rejoyce, and Israel shall be glad.*

And 'tis not onely *Jacob*, but *Israel* ; lest any should make excuses, all must appear at this Solemnity. And some; it may be, did excuse it at the first Triumph with their Buying of Farms, or Yokes of Oxen, or the like, some pretences they had, as many as were over-wary or under-willing, that is, not so well-affected as they should be. Why, these came in at the second or third Course, and there was a kind of *Coge introire* at last, they were in a manner compelled to come in, because they durst not stay without. But now all joyn in the Rejoycing ; I hope 'tis hearty, and  
not

not onely from the Teeth outward : However it comes with a *Nemine contradicente*, No man doth, or no man dares, contradict it.

Why any body should I know not, unless they take it ill to be happy, to be freed out of slavery, to see Peace established, Religion and the Worship of God restored. If this be a wrong to them,

—*Pol me Occidistis Amici*—

The mad man was wronged, when he was restored to his Wits again. But I will not suppose any body in that condition, though there have been distempers among us heretofore, I hope we are all come to our selves now, and that we joyn heartily in this Triumph.

And yet some *Elder* Brothers are apt to find fault, and to repine at the Musick and ~~and~~ Dancing, to aske, *Whos Journey, If any*

*mis*

as he did, as if 'twere too much or too light for such an occasion. I would not be thought to countenance any Excess, or to justify all mens extravagancies at such a time ; but do rather reprove them : And when I have done that, I must tell you again, as the Father did him in that Parable,

*Lu. 15. 32. It is meet that we should make merr*  
*ry and rejoyce :* for not this thy Brother, but thousands of thy Brethren were civilly dead, that is, ruined and undone, and now they are alive again, they were lost and they are found. Therefore some Exultation may be allowed, if it be one friske it may be excused, the Occasion is not ordinary : *Exultabit Jacob, Jacob*  
*shal rejoyce greatly,* as the daughter of *Sion* was bid to do before, as they would leap out of their skins, no moderate joy must serve the turn now.

Ying ; I hope Moderation called

led for by St. Paul, after a re-iterated joy, as 'tis here, *Again I say,* Phil. 4. 5. *Rejoyce, but let your Moderation be known to all men.* The word is τὸ ἐμενέειν, and 'tis rendred *Modestia*; and both are needful at this time, a Yielding and a Modesty, now we may seem to have the advantage of our Enemies. The less there was of it on their side when time was, let there be the more of it on ours now; and we must not *insult*, though we may *exult*, for this Deliverance. But let your Moderation be known, 'tis necessary for the healing of our Breaches, and not only God, but the King, calls upon us for it.

This is but an Expression of our Thankfulness to God; and yet the best expression of that, when we have said all we can, is our Obedience. No doubt we have all of us promised much, as *Jacob* did in his Journey, *If God* Gen. 28. 20. *will*

*will be with me*, if he will but deliver us out of this Bondage, then the Lord shall be our God. These were our *Tabula votiva*, such Vows we have made, or at least should have made, every one of us; let us be careful to perform them, and express our thankfulness that way. Those be the best Trophies we can set up, in the Reformation of our Lives; as old *Zachary* said in his Song, and 'twas a Song of Triumph too, *Ut liberati serviamus*, That we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the dayes of our life.

Luk. 1.74.

'Tis a great happiness to serve God without fear; we have not done so for many years together: but as *Christ* came to his Disciples, so did we to him, the doors being shut.

— *Et aperto vivere voto*, —

Every



Every body could not do it; not that they were ashamed of their Petitions, for they were such as were allowed by Authority, but for fear of their Enemies. And now that this fear is removed, let the Service, I pray you, be performed with more Reverence, with Reverence and Fear still, of God though not of Men. But let's remember the Service, the Service of the Church, not to neglect that, as formerly we have done; and the Service of God especially, that we pay him that Obedience in our Lives which is due to him.

That the World may not condemn us of unthankfulness, that it be not said of us as it was of his own People, *Yet for all this they sinned more against him*: 'tis repeated twice in that Psalm, and one sin of unthankfulness is too many. Psalm. 78.

But I will not suspect it in a  
People

People so obliged as we are: Being so delivered, as it is our duty, so I doubt not but it shall be our business to serve him, even to serve him all the dayes of our Lives.

*Now to God the Father, &c.*


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*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, on Jan. 30. 1661. being the Anniversary of the Death of the late King Charles I. of glorious memory.*

LAMENT. 4. 20.

*The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their nets, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.*

 His Book is a Book of *Lamentations*, and so is this Day ; a Day, wherein to lament the loss of a King ; a dumb man would speak, as one did in *Herodotus* to save a Kings life. But this Book is called Θένροι, *Jeremy's Lamentations*, the Prophet wrote it in tears, so 'tis said in the Vulgar Tran-

Translation, *Sedit Jeremias flens & planxit, Jeremy wept and lamented when he wrote it*: And well he might, for the occasion of it was very sad, even the Captivity of *Jerusalem*; the People were carried to *Babylon*, and the City and Temple destroyed; and among the spoils there was *Spiritus oris nostri*, even he that was *The breath of their nostrils*, the *Anointed of the Lord*. And therefore if the Prophet breath out nothing but Lamentations and Sighs upon such an occasion, 'tis no wonder.

We are indeed this day upon the like subject, a day of Lamentations it is: Let the Priest weep between the Porch and the Altar, and so let the People too; for when the *breath of our nostrils* is gone, the People and Priests are both alike, no better then dead trunks every one of us.

Did I say, A Day of Lamentations?

tions ? Indeed it should not be called a Day, wherein the Sun never shined. 'Tis said, *There was darkness over all the Land untill the ninth hour*, when they crucified Christ. A man might suppose it so over this Land of ours, when they murdered the King, and that they came with Lanthorns and Torches, as they did to apprehend Christ, though 'twere at high Noon; For sure the Sun would not own the action, nor see the murder of Gods Anointed, and therefore let it not be numbred amongst the dayes any longer. But

— *Mira cano, sol occubuit.* —

'Tis a sad story to remember, the Sun sate at high Noon. I cannot say,

— *Nox nulla sequuta est,*  
as 'twas said of the death of another Prince; for after the death of this, there was a continued night amongst us, no day-light  
for

for so many years together ; till at last the Sun returned, the same Sun or a brighter, his Fathers own *son* it was, and now, God be thanked for it, 'tis day-light again with us.

But for the day of the Kings death, I would have it wiped out of the Calendar, as there is a day put into the Calendar sometimes in *February, Dies intercalaris* 'tis called ; so I would have the Thirtieth of *January* put out, for it will be a reproach to us,

— *Titulumq; effeminat ann.*

'Tis pity it should be remembred, but that the wisdom of our Superiours will have it so, let it be a day of blackness and darkness for ever.

And yet we remember the deaths of other Martyrs, the dayes of their deaths are in the Martyrologies of the Church instead of their Birth-dayes, in which they were born to Immortality ;

tality; and therefore the death  
 of this blessed Saint and Martyr  
 deserves to be remembered too:  
 To be remembered for those  
 Princely Vertues that shined in  
 him that day, more then in any  
 other of his life. *How glorious*  
*was the King of Israel this day?*  
*Micah* said it of *David* in a scoff,  
 but 'twas true in earnest: among  
 the many scoffs that were put up-  
 on that glorious Saint, this might  
 be one too; but 'twas a sad truth  
 nevertheless. How glorious was  
 he in his Meekness, in his Pati-  
 ence, in his Magnanimity, in his  
 Charity, in his Contempt of the  
 world, and all the Glory of it?  
 For he had more Tentations to  
 love it then all his Subjects be-  
 sides, and therefore how glorious  
 was he in the despising of it? how  
 glorious was the King of *England*  
 this day? as 'twas said of the  
 Proto-Martyr St. *Stephen*, so it  
 might be said of this Royal Mar-  
 tyr



tyr too, *All that sate in the Council saw his face as it had been the face of an Angel.* But that their eyes were holden that they could not know him, as 'twas said of Christ, *Certainly they could not have condemned him.* But I say unto you, *That even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of These; not like an ordinary flower, and therefore not like this flower, This Lilly of the Vallies, this Lilly among Thorns,* as 'tis said of Christ there. And certainly if any Lilly besides Christ were planted so, this was he: Among the Thorns indeed, that pricked him, and did him all the injuries they could. *Like the Rose in Sharon,* as 'tis in that Verse, *Cant. 2. 1.* (there are Prickles enough too) *and the Lilly of the vallies.* Never any Lilly stood lower in the Valley, and was clothed with more humility, and therefore the more glorious in that respect; and there-

therefore the more fit to be taken notice of this day. 'Tis *Solomon* in his glory, in all his glory; most richly apparelled he was, if the inward Clothing of the Mind be of any value.

*The Kings Daughter* is all glorious within: and so was the King himself, a true Son of that Mother, the Spouse of Christ. And therefore He was cloathed like her, glorious within, howsoever the wrought Gold in His outward cloathing was taken from Him.

*Et hinc lachryma*, here the Lamentation begins. When once they begin to unking Him, and to take His Purple, and His Royal Authority from Him, 'twas no hard matter to prophecy what would be the end of the Tragedy. Dead men they say have no Teeth, or cannot Bite: and though they had Him safe enough in their Nets, yet they did not think him so, nor themselves  
nei-

## The Second Sermon.

neither, till He was past Biting ;  
 The *Chaldeans* were satisfied with  
 lesse Barbarity then this : and yet  
 here's matter enough for a La-  
 mentation, though it were but  
*Captus in Laqueis*, and there be  
 no Murther of a King mentioned,  
*The breath of our nostrils, the A-*  
*nointed of the Lord was taken in*  
*their Nets, of whom we said, Under*  
*his shadow, we shall live among the*  
*Heathen.*

In this Text then we have the  
 Prophets Lamentation, for the  
 sad condition of a King. And yet,  
 who this King was, Interpreters  
 agree not, whether it were *Jo-*  
*siah*, or *Zedekiah*, or whether it  
 were *Christ* himself, He that was  
 the King of Kings, and Lord of  
 Lords. But a King it was, for  
 here we have all the Characters  
 of Him, *spiritus Oris nostri*, and  
*Christus Domini*, and *In umbra*  
*tua vivemus, the breath of our no-*  
*strils, the Anointed of the Lord, and*  
 under

under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen; of whom but a King, can this be said? It matters not what King, for even the worst of Kings is sacred, and the losse of Him to be lamented. Suppose Him to be *Zedekiah*, and He was none of the best; as indeed the Chronology, and the rest of the matter of this Book seems to point at Him. But if it were *Josiah*, as St. *Ferome* and the Hebrew Interpreters think, or if it were *Christ* as most Interpreters say, what Mourning could be sufficient? *Mary* stood by the Sepulchre weeping: and well she might, for such a losse. But we will not restrain it to any particular, because 'tis proper enough to all, and we may apply it to one whom the Prophet never Dream't of, even *spiritus Oris nostri*, He that was the breath of our nostrils, Ours of this Nation, who breathed by him, and dyed with him.

D

First

First then we will observe the Characters of him, as they are given here in the Text, that you may learne to esteem of him, as he deserved.

Secondly, the calamity that befell him, that you may lament the losse of him.

The Characters of him are three.

1. *Spiritus Oris nostri*, he was the breath of our nostrils, and thats an endearing expression of him.

2. *Christus Domini*, that's a sacred expression of him, he was the Anointed of the Lord.

3. *In umbra tua vivemus*, that will make us know the benefit we had by him, and what we suffer by the loss of him, *under his shadow we shall*, or we will, *live among the heathen*.

And this last hath been acknowledged by our selves: We have it *Ex ore tuo*, out of our own mouths,

mouths, and out of theirs too; who it may be afterwards would have denied it.

*Cui diximus*, to whom, or of whom, we our selves have said and acknowledged this.

And when we have said that, I wish we had no more to say of it: But there is that behind which cannot be concealed, and we must all of us lament, according to the tenour of the Text, and the duty of the Day.

*Captus est in laqueis ipsorum*, He was taken in their nets.

I begin with the first Character of him, an endearing Expressi-  
on, as I told you, he was *the breath of our nostrils*. And what can be dearer to us then that? If our life be dear to us, our breath must needs be so; for we live no longer then we breath. God Almighty, when he made Man, *He breathed into him the breath of life, and Man became a living soul,*

Gen. 2. 7. *Inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vite*, there's the breath of life, and this God breathed into him; but before that he was not a living soul, but a lump of dead earth. 'Tis the breath of life that distinguisheth us from the Clay that lies in the streets.

— *Ex meliore luto.*

'Tis true, some men may be made of better Clay then others, but 'tis all Clay till the breath of life be breathed into us. Why then learn to value this breath, for then 'tis a living soul straight. And this God inspires, not onely into the first man, but into every man that comes into the World. And in this, that he might make Kings like himself, *Dixi Dilectus*, he is pleased to impart this honour to them, that either they inspire souls, or at least they are the souls of their Subjects; for here he gives them such an Attribute, *Spiritus oris nostri*, they are



are the breath of our nostrils. 'Tis said of himself, *In illo vivimus, In him we live, move, and have our being, Acts 17.* and if Kings be the breath of our nostrils, we live in them too. That they are so, the Prophet acknowledgeth it here, in behalf of all the People, who lived and breathed no other-wise but by him.

— *Quod spiro tuum est.* —

We are beholding to him that we live, for it would not be *vita vitalis* without him. We were better be dead, then to live in slavery or misery; and I appeal to all that hear me, what manner of life we lived after he was taken from us.

But would any man be guilty of his own death, a *Felo de se*? No man ever hated his own flesh, Eph. 5. 29. saith St. Paul; and therefore one would think no man should hate his own Spirit, his Soul much less. Why the King is the Soul

of every man ; and would any man hate or hurt that ? would he sin against his own Soul so much, as to entertain the thought of any hurt toward him ? If he do it, he sins so : First, because the King is his Soul here, *the very breath of his nostrils* : And, Secondly, because his soul shall be sure to be punished for it hereafter, both body and soul in Hell-fire.

And yet for all this Kings are not secured from violence, though they are as near to us, and should be as dear to us, as our souls.

If we mark the Expression, one would wonder how this should come to pass : To catch a Spirit in a Net, as 'tis here in the Text, *Captus est in laqueis*, a man can hardly conceive it. One may as soon paint a Voice, — *Pinge sonum*, — as lay hold on a Spirit or a Breath. The Nets must be very fine, and artificially made, as  
the

the Poets feign of *Vulcans* Nets ;  
and commonly there wants no  
Art in making of them, in which  
*the breath of our nostrils* must be  
taken.

But what pity is it that Kings  
are but a Breath ? especially  
good Kings, whom it doth con-  
cern the People that they should  
be Immortal ? *But ye shall dye like* Psal. 81. 7.  
*men*, that's a sad sentence upon  
Princes. They that are the *breath*  
*of our nostrils*, that the breath  
should be in their nostrils too, and  
they should be no more then a  
Breath ; this is but a sad Con-  
templation upon it. And yet 'tis  
true, they are but Treasure in  
Earthen Vessels, when all's done  
no better then ordinary Pitchers,  
and as easily broken as any of  
them. And thence 'tis that we  
are bid to Cease from them,  
*Cease ye from Man, whose breath is* Isa. 2. 22.  
*in his nostrils, for wherein is he to*  
*be accounted of ?*

In the mean time to make no more of the breath of Princes, then we do of ordinary men, especially of Murtherers and Malefactors, to take away their breath from them, and our own too, by violent hands; this addes to the Calamity much, and 'tis such a frailty of Princes, which God and Nature never intended. For if they be *the breath of our nostrils*, we must let them live as long as they can, *Quorum accendit fragilitas pretium*; like Crystal Glasses, we should be the more tender of them for that reason, lest while we shorten their dayes, we shorten our own.

And this is one of the Prerogatives of Kings, That they cannot dye alone, but *Vobiscum concutitur Imperium*, in *Tertullian*: The Earthquake is universal, and all the People must dye with them; 'tis fit they should. 'Tis observed by Historians, *Iosephus* and

*Quintil.*

*Tert. Apol.*

*Ios. Antiq.  
lib. 17. c. 8.*

and others, That *Herod* the Great when he dyed, that he might be sure the People should make Lamentations at his Funeral, he took order that many of the Nobility of *Iewry* should be put to death the same day with him: But it was a needless fear if his Government had been good. A King cannot go out of the world without the tears of his Subjects, because they dye as well as he. Possibly there may be no Mourners because there be no Men, all civilly dead, and none left to bury him, or to mourne for him: But else Mourners there must be enough, like the Daughters of *Ierusalem*, whom Christ bids to weep for themselves, as if all the men were absolutely dead there, or were to dye shortly after, when Christ dyed that was their King. And therefore weep for your selves, and not for me; at your own

Funerals, as often as a good King is buried. And so *David* lamented over *Saul*, though he was to succeed him in the Kingdom, 2 *Sam.* i. 17. 'tis one of the Lessons appointed for this day; and he bid them in the next Verse, *Teach their children the use of the Bow*: That comes in by a *Parenthesis*, and it seems at first sight somewhat impertinent to the matter; but whatever the proper meaning of it may be, it might be to mind them, that now the King was dead, they might expect nothing but death too, and cutting of Throats; and therefore they must stand upon their guards, and teach their children the use of the Bow. Behold, it is written in the book of *Fasher*, as it follows; it stands upon Record there, as a thing worth the remembring. And at the 24. Verse it is, *Ye daughters of Israel*, again weep over *Saul*, as if the men were

were dead still, who clothed you in Scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel; and 'tis no wonder if the Women weep for the loss of him then. But you see by all this what we lose when we lose a King, something besides Ornaments and good Cloaths, even the better part of us, our Souls and Lives; when he dyes, all are civilly dead too, for he is *spiritus oris nostri*; *The breath of our nostrils*.

I have done with the first Character of a King, I come now to the second.

2. *Christus Domini, The Anointed of the Lord*. And that as I said, is a sacred expression of him, for they were only sacred persons, that were wont to be *Anointed*: Kings, Priests, and Prophets all to be Anointed alike, and none were Anointed but them. Some men in the late times of Confusion, while they made



made bold to take away the Hedge and Inclosure about the King, made bold to give a new Interpretation of that Text too, *Touch not mine Anointed*, and it must be not Kings only, but ordinary persons that were meant there. As they would have all the Lords people to be Prophets, and Priests, which are forbid to be touched too in that place, so they would have all the Lords people to be Kings, while they attributed this Title of Kings to them also: And all the Saints and servants of God, say they, are as much Gods Anointed as the King. For this Anointing is but *Gratia gratis data*, or *Gratia Gratum faciens* at most, some peculiar Gift or Grace in Gods Children, and so all are alike concerned in it, and so *Ecce hic est Christus*, loe, here is Christ, here is Gods Anointed, and loe there, as it was in Christs own time so in ours,

ours, as many Christs or Anointed ones as Christians, and *Christos meus*, concernes every body.

But if you look into that Psalm, you will find it otherwise, and who they were that were meant by it, *Psal. 105. 9, 10. Verses*, even the Patriarchs expressed by name, *He made a Covenant with Abraham, and an Oath unto Isaac: And confirmed the same to Jacob for a Law, &c.* And *Jacobs* Children you know, were called the twelve Patriarchs, which afterward multiplied into a Nation; But of them 'twas principally intended, and of others, but by way of participation, in the opinion of all Interpreters, till these new Glorians sprung up like Gourds in a night; *Touch not mine Anointed.* And these Patriarchs we are to know, were Princes in their times, not onely as a Prince, *Thou hast power, thou hast prevail'd with God, Ge. 42;*

28. as 'twas said of *Jacob*, but they were Princes indeed: 'Tis said so of *Abraham* expressly, *Princeps Dei es apud nos, Thou art a Prince among us, Gen. 23. 5.* a Mighty Prince as we read it, and so he shewed himself, when he gave Battel and slew 4 Kings at once, *Gen. 14.* The like might be said of *Isaac* and the rest of them; And their very name speaks them to be such, *Patriarche*, not onely Fathers, but Princes in their Generations. And therefore *Christos meos*, for all that can be said to the contrary, will concern Kings still.

And Kings are Gods Anointed after a more peculiar manner: the Character they have here in the Text speaks them so. 'Tis not *Uncti*, but *Christi*, they are called so here in the Text, and in that Psalm too, *Nolite tangere Christos meos, Touch not my Christs.* And not onely in that, but

but in many other places which might be alleadged, 'tis applyed to Kings, and to Kings onely. As God is pleased to vouchsafe them his name, *Dixi Dii estis*, I have said ye are Gods, so Christ vouchsafes them his, I have said ye are Christs *Messiahs*, in the Hebrew, and *Christi mei*, my Christs in the Greek and Latine, and all Interpreters translate it so, not *Uncti*, but *Christi*.

Why then this must make their persons sacred in a very high degree, not onely holy, but the holy of holies; as the inmost place of the Temple was, so is the person of the King. Let there be a Vaile between, as 'twas in the Temple, and no profane person come near him. His Sacred Majesty is a Title that belongs to him without flattery. For 'tis holy oyle that he is Anointed with, *Psal. 89. 21. Oleo sancto meo*, I have found David my servant,

servant, with my holy oyle have I Anointed him. And his Presence was wont to be called *Sacra vestigia*, and his Writs *Sacri Apices*, holy almost every thing about him, and such as should beget a Reverence in the people.

Since the foundations of Government were shaken, he that shall look back, and remember the Indignities that were put upon the person of our late Dear Sovereigne, how every wicked and profane person did not onely touch him, which they are forbid to do in that Psalm, but throng him and presse him too, as the Multitude did Christ; and that, not out of any affection to see him, but for worse ends, which I had rather forget then mention, he will think the Reverence was lost here, and the Anointing forgotten in the Text. When every hand was lifted up against him, so many hands at the Sentence,  
and

and a hand to execute that upon the Scaffold, did they think the Lords Anointed was there, or did they remember the holy oyle at that time? Since all holy things were profaned, they made no reckoning of that, and therefore 'tis for the Interest of Princes to keep up the Value of holy things, and not to suffer them to be trampled upon by the Multitude. But 'tis worth the observing, which was said of *Saul* in the Chapter before cited, *The shield of Saul was vilely cast away,* <sup>2 Sam. i.</sup> *as though he had not been Anointed with oyle;* And was not the sacred Head of the King it self used so?

— *Horresco referens,* —

As if he had not been Anointed with oyle too, or as if never any such Ceremony had been used. I would not be thought, *Ambitiosus in malis*, or to aggravate the offences of any. For how can I?

Lan-

Language is too narrow for it.

— *Si Lingua Centum sint,*

*Oraque Centum,* —

If I had as many Tongues as the Giant had hands, but *Christus Domini*, was forgotten, that he was Anointed with oyle when those hands were lifted up, and the Nets were set in the Text. If they had known, they would not have *Crucified the Lord of life*, the Apostles Charity so far excused the *Jews*; and I am willing my Charity should think the same of these: they did not know him at that time; in their practical understanding they did not; and 'twas a just Judgement of God upon them, for their shutting their eyes so long before, and their not knowing of him when they might. Well, *Christus Domini*, I have said enough upon that, that men may know him better hereafter, and take heed how they touch him.



him. For the King is a Sacred person, *The Anointed of the Lord*, thats the second Character of him.

3. The third is, *In umbra tua vivemus*, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.

'Tis no wonder, if we expect to live by him, *for he is the breath of our nostrils before*, and I have said enough of that already. *But we shall live under his shadow*, that speaks the protection of a King. To live under his shadow, is to live under that. As Beasts shelter themselves under the shadow of a tree, so men are sheltered under the protection of a King. You may have heard of the Royall Oak, or you have read the Dream of *Nebuchadnezar*, of a tree that reached to Heaven, and covered the Earth, under which the Beasts of the field had shadow, and the Fowles of the aire dwelt in the Boughes of it. And *Daniels*

*niels* Interpretation of it was this, *Dan. 4. 22. Tu es Rex, it is thou O King, thy greatness reacheth to Heaven, and thy Dominion to the end of the Earth, and all had shadow and protection by it.*

What the benefit of this Protection is, we have known by the want of it; those that live *sub Dio*, that have no Canopy or Covering, but that of the Heavens, are exposed to the injuries of all weather; whether it be hot or cold, wet or dry, they have no fence for it, but they must bear it out with head and shoulders, as we use to say. And this was our Case for many years together: what storms have we endured? what miseries have we felt? or what have we not felt rather? and all this for want of a Covering, and of a Protector, and that shadow and comfort we might have enjoyed by him.

We had indeed one at last that  
called

called himself so, a Protector he would needs be: but, alas! his shadow was but Mock-shade, or Night-shade rather, that was fatal and deadly to all that stood under it. *Requiescite sub umbra mea*, as the Bramble said in *Fothams Parable*, *Rest under my shadow*, when, alas! he had no shadow for them. Whereas the shadow of a lawful King is life to his Subjects; *sub umbra ejus vivemus*, *Under his shadow we shall live*. *The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night*, as 'tis *Psal. 121.6*. *He that dwells under the shadow of the most High*, he hath those privileges and many more, *Psal. 91.1*. and so hath he that lives under the shadow of a lawful King; *He shall defend thee under his wings*, as 'tis there, *and thou shalt be safe under his feathers*; whereas they that want them have no safety at all, but are exposed like so many Chickens to  
be

be a prey to the Kites.

And what the pleasure of the shade is in hot weather we all know, and most of us remember how happily we lived under it.

— *Hic nemus, hic ipse tecum  
consumerer aro.* —

We could have been contented to live and dye under it too ; but thus we lived for many years together. We could not see when we were well, but out of the shade we would go, and out of Gods blessing into the warm Sun, and down goes the Tree himself, and farewell the shade of him ; and what we got by it you all know.

We are now by Gods blessing got into the shade again ;

— *Non deficit alter amens.* —

Another Tree is sprung up from the same Root, God be thanked for it, and we will learn, I hope, to value the Tree better hereafter,  
and

and the shadow we enjoy by him.

But if we have no shadow, in what a case are we many times? *Jonah* will tell you, though it were but the shadow of a Gourd, and not of a Tree, that sprung up and withered in a night, yet when he wanted it, and the East wind blew, and the Sun beat upon his head, then he wished with himself to dye straight, and, *it is better sayes he, to dye then to live, Jonah 4. 8.* And so 'tis, and the Bramble I told you of but now knew it, he that called himself Protector, and that there was no way to take the people better, then to say, Come under my shadow.

Especially if we consider that which followes in the Text, *Inter Gentes*, that we live among the Heathen, as it was the case of the *Jews* here, they had many enemies about them, *Egyptians, Assyrians*, and they that dwelt at  
Tyre,

Tyre, and I know not who besides, that did but watch their opportunity to make a prey of them. Therefore a Protector was necessary, and to have shelter and a shadow somewhere: and so 'twas for us, considering among whom we live, *inter gentes*, that we have Enemies round about us, Nations of a different Religion, or if of the same, that drive other Interests then ours, and therefore if not professed Enemies, yet suspected Friends at best, and therefore 'tis good to keep in the shade, not to lose our Protector if we can chuse.

Well, we had him, and so had the *Jews* too, and we promised our selves all imaginable happiness under him.

*Cui diximus, vivemus, Of whom we said, We shall live under his shadow.* This is but a Patherical remembrance of their loss, and the happiness they enjoyed under  
their

their King : like Children that have lost their Parents, or Parents that have lost their Children, in whom they promised themselves much Comfort and Content ; but now they are deprived of them.

'Tis not good to set our hearts upon any thing in this world, lest we lament the losse of it too soon, with a *Cui diximus*, we promised our selves such and such things by him.

—*At ubi ego Ignarus Thalamus,*—  
While we provide for our Childrens Weddings, many times their friends come to their Funerals, and while we build upon the lives of our Parents, the Fathers of our Country, and make Panegyricks upon Princes, we lose them before the Speech is ended; such is the frailty of humane things ; *Cui diximus vivemus*, we said, we shall live under their shadow, and we live to see them buried



ryed before us. Here we should write Lamentations again, and we want a *Jeremy* to Weep it out.

But *Cui diximus, vivemus*, minds us of some what else too, of Indignation, as well as of Lamentation for a King. For 'tis not onely *we shall*, but *we will live, Vivemus*, the future tense both. And if we said, *we will live under his shadow*, how came the Tree to be cut down?

And this we all said, as well as the *Jews*, we have it, *Ex ore tuo*, for them, and they for that King were guilty of no such Cruelty. And so we had it out of our mouthes too; how many *Hosannas* were sung to this Blessed Saint and Martyr, immediately before the War? how many Declarations of Loyalty, and making him a Glorious King in it? And with the same Breath the Tree is blasted, and afterward cut down

down by them. Well, this *Cui diximus* stands upon Record, to the Eternall Infamy of these Parricides, they themselves said it over and over, nay, they sware it too in their Oaths of Allegiance to the King more then once, *Under his shadow we will live*, and yet they would not for all that. For

I must come now to the last Act of the Tragedy, and I wish I could be excused from speaking to it, because no body would believe it, if we had not seen it Acted before our eyes.

But can any man believe it yet, or his own eyes, that believes what we have said already, that he is *spiritus oris nostri*, and *Christus Domini*, and in *umbræ ejus vivemus*, The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord, and we will live under his shadow, and yet that he should read *Captus est in Laqueis ipsorum*, after all this

he is taken in their Nets.

If you understand it of *Josiah* or *Zedekiah*, the *Jews* are to be excused from it: For they were guilty of no such wickednesse, as I said but now. 'Tis true, *Josiah* was slain at *Megiddo*, and taken in the Nets of *Pharaoh Necho*, and so was *Zedekiah* taken in the Nets of the *Assyrians*, and carryed Captive to *Babylon*, but his own subjects had no hand in it. They lamented his losse; *Jeremy* here doth it in the name of all the people, who could have been contented to live under his shadow, and though he was none of the best Kings neither.

But if you will have it to be a Prophecy, and understand it of *Christ*, then indeed the *Jews* were Regicides too. Will ye Crucify your King? *Pilate* asked them that Question, and they said they would; *anguis ejus super nos, his blood be upon us, and upon our children.* Well,

Well, though in the Prophetical sense of the Text, the Parallel hold good, and the *Jews* were as bad as any of us, yet in the Literall sense they were better, *In laqueis ipsorum*, must be meant of the *Assyrians*, or *Pharaoh Necho*, and not of the *Jews*. But in the Prophetical sense, the *Jews* cannot wash their hands of it neither. No more can some of us, from being as bad as any *Jew* of them all. And *In laqueis ipsorum*, brings it home to our Regicides too ; Therefore let them take it among them, *In their Nets the Lords Anointed was taken*.

Theirs ! what would some men give now to be excused from this ? Why, any bodies rather than *Theirs*. *Theirs*, that is, the Nets of some Forraign Enemie, if you will, of the Nations among whom they lived in the Text, such threds should be spun abroad by *Pharaoh Necho*, or

the *Assyrians*, by *Almaynes*, or *Italians*, or *Spaniards*, or some strange Nation.

—*Hostium tellus habet*,—

But I hope they live not in *England*, 'tis no Home-made Cloth, or Thred either. And yet it is for all that *Ipsorum*, we can carry it no further, then to the Doors of our next Neighbours, those that breathed by him, and lived by him, under his shadow, and under his Protection: *Ipsorum* is Latin for English-men, *In their Nets he was taken*, to revive again an obsolete Observation long out of date with us, to the dishonour of the Nation, as if the Kings of *England* were Kings of Devils, and not of men.

But what? In the Nets of his own subjects? Can they justifie a War against their King? Indeed the Threds of this Net, the Doctrines of Rebellion, and deposing and Murthering of Princes were

were first spun abroad in the shops of the *Jesuites*. And since I know not how, we are more perfect in them then they. As 'tis with many other Commodities, for which we were at first beholding to our Neighbours, but now we make them as well at home, they be grown staple with us; so you may have these now in every Weavers shop, as well as in the *Jesuites*. They will tell you in plain English, for, *In ordine ad spiritualia*, hath been translated into all Languages, that to advance the Kingdom of Christ, that is, their own Kingdom and not his, and to promote the Cause, 'tis lawful to take Armes, to Murder Kings, and to commit any Villany in the world. And yet *St. Paul* tells us, that no Cause will justifie this: He Preaches subjection to Princes, *Let every soul be subject, and therefore every body much more: and*

they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation. And so St. Peter Preaches the same, and the Primitive Fathers of the Church after them, as, if we had so much leasure, 'twere very easie to shew you. I will instance onely in two, one of the Greek Fathers, and one of the Latin. St. Gregory Nazianzen for the Greek, and he sayes, that when Julian the Apostate had designed the Ruine of the Christians, he was disappointed only by their Teares, Τὸ το μόνον ἔχοντων φάρμακον κατὰ τὸ Διόκτε, they made use of no other Weapons against the persecutor but Tears, and yet almost all his Army were Christians. And so St. Ambrose in the like Case, *Dolere potero, potero flere, I can weep and lament,* sayes he, but *I cannot resist; Nec possum nec debeo, I ought not to resist it if I could.* These were all the Neis those Primitive Christians

Naz. Orat.  
i. in Julianum.

Lib. 5.  
Orat. in  
Auxent.



stians made use of, to catch and Embalme their Persecutors in their Teares, like a flie in a drop of *Amber*. But for any other Nets they never knew the use of them, till these late Modern times, wherein many new Inventions are discovered, and this among the rest, for subjects to make Nets for their Kings.

But this, I must tell you, is an Invention deviating from Justice and Right, as the Wise man says there, *God made man upright, but he hath sought out many Inventions*; they are but crooked ones, as many turnings in them, as in a Labyrinth, and the upright man whom God made, will never away with them; for they are Nets of their own making, and not his. And they be made to a mischievous end, to catch the feet of Princes.

Mighty Hunters it seems they are, like *Nimrod*, that no-prey

will serve them but their King.  
 Why ordinary Hunters *Moll ori  
 prada saginantur*, as 'tis in *Quin-  
 tillian*, and so ordinary Dogs  
 too,

—*Prada Canum Lepus est*,—

A Hare will serve their turn.  
 Theirs was the Lion, a sport, if I  
 may call it so, not usuall among  
 us in *England*, what ever it may  
 be among *Africans* or *Indians*.  
 But so it must be,

—*Places in vulnus—Maxi-  
 ma Cetrux.*

And they lov'd the sport too wel,  
 a Company of Hell-hounds they  
 were; and you cannot but re-  
 member it, to go a King-catch-  
 ing, with Reverence be it spoken  
 by us to the Sacred Majesty of  
 Kings, 'twas their pastime, as well  
 to talk of it, as to act it.

And how often their Nets  
 were set for him, 'twould be but  
 a sad story to repeat. As the  
 Devil sets Nets every where.

To the

*Totus mundus Diaboli Laqueus*, sayes St. Gregory, so did these men too. He could not set his foot in any corner of his Kingdom, but there was a Net set for him. *They have set traps in my way, and in the way wherein I went, have they privily laid a snare for me, as David complained, Psal. 142. 3.* Hunted he was from one place to another, till at last he fell into the Noose, and *Captus est in Laqueis ipsorum, he was taken in their Nets.* He that shall remember how he came into our Neighbour Island, by a Train, and how fast they held him there when they had him, cannot think this Text ill applyed, but he will look upon it as a Prophecy of him too.

But yet take him alive for all that;

—— Ζώντες Αἴρετε ὕμιν, ——

as he said to *Agamemnon*: though you have hunted for him, and taken

ken him, yet destroy him not. Zedekiah was not destroyed, though he were taken. A living Dog is better then a dead Lion; they did what they could to prefer a Dog before him, for he must not live.

— *Timete superi fata.* —

Here's the heighth of all Impiety : Next to the Crucifying of Christ the King of Heaven, I challenge any History to match it; for he was destroyed not in Battle, as *David* said of *Saul*, *Forte in pralium descendens peribit, Per-adventure he may fall in the battel*; and so there might be something of Chance in it, and not of Malice, because Bullets distinguish not; Not by the hands of a wicked Assaffinate, as some other Princes have miscarryed, but as they would have the world believe, by the hand of Justice. That he might be like his Saviour in all things, he must be arraigned, but before

before worse Judges then *Pilate*; for he cryed, *What evil hath he done?* and so washed his hands, for a testimony that he would have no hand in shedding the blood of Christ; whereas these washed their hands in his blood: they held up their hands to justify the Sentence, and with their hands subscribed the Sentence of Death.

And so 'twas acted accordingly. Will Posterity believe it?

— *Nec audent Fata tam vastum nefas. — Admittere.* —

Yet so it was, a Scaffold erected at the Court gate, *In ludibrium Majestatis*, in defiance of Majesty, and the King was murdered at high Noon. And 'tis said there was a Net upon the Scaffold too, in case of resistance, to make good the *Captus in laqueis* in every particular, though this Lamb before the Shearers gave them no occasion to make use of it.

And

And by this time I suppose it may be full Sea with you, and you call for justice upon the Murtherers. They have felt it some of them, and they have suffered deservedly for it; the stroke of Justice found them out at last, and Gods Providence is magnified in his care of humane affairs.

But while we call for justice upon others, are we our selves innocent?

— *Ne sciri magne sacerdos.* —

Something there is in the Text yet, that may draw us into the Conspiracy too, as well as we think of our selves, and as severe as we are to other men.

If the Vulgar Translation read the Text right, instead of *Captus est in laqueis ipsorum*, it is there *Captus est in peccatis nostris*, He was taken, not in *their* Nets, but in *our* sins.

Murther, they say, will out;  
and

and then though some have been punished already, yet there be many more that deserve it ; and we our selves are of that number. Talk no more of the *Independents*, or the *Presbyterians*, or the *Anabaptists*, or any Sectary besides, the Net was spun by all of us, in our sins he was taken.

And 'tis most true ; A good King cannot miscarry, but for the sins of the people. If you understand it of *Iosiah*, this reading of the Text proves it. And therefore the advice is good in *Tertulian*, *Esto tu Religiosus in Deum*, *Ter. Apol.* *si vis illum propitium Imperatori ;* the way to preserve a good King, is to be good our selves ; and for a bad one, 'tis as true, that he miscarries seldom but upon that account. To look no further then *Zedekiah* in the Text, that you may be satisfied, the people spun the Net in which he was taken, as well as himself, look into the



the 36. chap. of the second of *Chro.* ver. 14. there you shall meet with a *Moreover*, like an *Insper*, after an account, after he had spoken of *Zedekiah*, what he was, and what befell him in that Chapter, *Moreover*, sayes the Text, *All the chief of the Priests, and the people transgressed very much, and he sent his Messengers and they despised them, therefore he brought upon them the King of the Chaldees; and therefore 'tis true which the Prophet sayes here, and 'tis the best reading of the Text, Cap-tus est in peccatis nostris, The peoples sins were the chiefest Nets, in which the King was taken.*

And they be very strong ones. When the *Philistines* are upon him, no *Sampson* can break them, but his strength then is no more then an ordinary mans.

Why, if that be true, what have we to say for our selves? suppose we were now at the Bar  
of

of Gods Justice, though the Clemency of the King hath pardoned us here, and we were Arraigned for the Murther of his Father ; I say, what have we to say for our selves ? 'T would be in vain to plead Not Guilty, and to lay the fault upon others, for *Captus est in peccatis nostris* will confute us, and so far reconcile all parties, *He was taken in our sins.*

But our best defence would be a penitent Confession of the fact.

— *Me, me, adsum, — qui feci,* —  
It is I that have sinned, but these Sheep, what have they done ? And those Wolves too that tore him in pieces, what have they done more then any of us ? It is usually said, one of the Adverse parties held the King by the Haire, while the other cut off his Head. That the former of these take it not ill, we will allow them more Company ; for alas !  
we

we held him as well as they.  
 We were not upon the Scaffold  
 to hold him ; no more were they.  
 But we were somewhere else.  
 Like Witches, that can kill a man  
 and never come near him.

*Necte tribus nodis.*—

So we might tie knots, or thrust  
 pins into him, and yet sit at home  
 by the fire, or upon our Thre-  
 sholds, and never come so near  
 him as to touch his haire at all.

Beloved, I hope no body will  
 take it ill, that I make such a  
 Comparifon, or rank those that  
 were the Kings good fubjects,  
 with those that were not fo. But  
 it would be thought upon feri-  
 oufly by every one of us, and  
 this day especially more then up-  
 on any other, how far every one  
 of our particular fins contributed  
 to the death of our King.

There be many Threds, you  
 know, that must go to the ma-  
 king up of a Net. And if it be a  
 Net

Net with Cord's, as it must be a strong one for such a purpose as this, to take the feet of a King in, there must be many more.

Therefore let's consider, what particular sins we our selves contributed to the heap, and the making of this Net. For I will not mention those sins which were almost Epidemical to the Nation, our Compliances and silence when we saw the Thieves coming, and the Murderers setting their Nets for the King, we did not try out as we should have done, and so we were Accessaries, at least, Consenters; we saw a Thief and consented unto him by our silence, if not principals as they were. And in Crimes of this high nature, Felony and Treason, the Law sayes all are Principalls; but our Luke-warmnesse in Religion, neither hot nor cold, like the *Laodiceans*, the neglect of our Duties in our seve-

severall Stations, both Lay-men and Clerks, our Swearing, our Drunkenesse, our Profaneness, our Pride, our Covetousnesse, our Envy, our Malice, our Backbiting; all these, and many, infinitely many more put together, will make a Net with a witness; 'tis more then a threefold Cord, and 'tis no wonder if the feet of the best King in the world were taken in them.

Let us sit down and lament this day, for the wickednesses we our selves were, and I doubt it still are, guilty of. We see what a Thred we have spun, to the cutting off the life of a King: And can we think to escape without Repentance? or because the *Galileans* or some others were greater sinners then we, therefore we are none at all? I tell you, nay, *but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*

Though you were none of the  
Kings

Kings Judges, nor his Accusers, nor ever were in Armes against him, or gave any countenance to the Rebellion; yet like the Witches I told you of, you might contrive his mischief at home; so you did, in your Parlours, in your Closets, in your Shops, and in your Chambers.

And therefore *Enter into your chambers again, be still, and consider this*; for your own sakes, for the sake of Gods Anointed, lest you bring him into the Net too: And nothing else can do it,

*Bella Telemacho paras, —*

And if you love the King think of it, for surely *Thou also art one of them*, and so was I, and every one of us; we may be kin to, and love the Traytor, though we hate the Treason never so much. But let us all shew some severity against our selves too, to put away Gods wrath from the Nation; some vindicative justice in our tears and

*The Second Sermon.*

and abstinences this day, as it hath fallen upon others in a severer manner.

And then God will have mercy upon us, he will keep the feet of his Anointed out of the Nets of wicked men, he will preserve this Church and Kingdom from violence, and he will bring us to his Kingdom in Heaven.

*Which God grant, &c.*

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*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, on Feb. 24. 1661. at the Asizes held there.*

ISAIAH I. 26.

*Et restituum iudices tuos ut fuerunt prius, & consiliarios tuos sicut antiquitus: post hæc vocaberis civitas iusti, urbs fidelis.*

*And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.*



*Restituum iudices tuos.* Here's a Restoration promised in the Text, and that implies a Desolation before; if you look back to the 7. Verse of the Chapter, you shall find it so, *Terra vestra deserta*, Your country is desolate, your cities

*cities are burnt with fire. There's as much desolation as the fire could make; and the sword no doubt did its part too, for strangers devour your land, in that Verse; and in the next Verse, Sion is left as a cottage, and as a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers. And if the Lord of hosts had not left us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah, Verse 9. and that speaks desolation again.*

One of the chief sins that brought it upon them was the *perverting of judgment*, at the 21. Verse. How is the faithful City become a Harlot? It was full of Judgment, Righteousness lodged in it, but now Murtherers, *Nunc autem homicidae*; Murtherers were got into the Judges room; and then the best of them were no better then companions of thieves, Verse 23. Consenters at least,

least, while they loved Gifts and followed after Rewards, and refused to judge the Fatherlesse, or to let the Cause of the Widow come before them.

In the mean time the people were but in a sad condition, you will believe. And no sooner had God eased himself of his Adversaries at the 24. Verse, but presently he had compassion on them, with the turn of a hand as it were, *Et convertam manum*, I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy Dross, and take away all thy Tinne, at the Verse immediately before the Text. And when that's done, the greatest instance of his Mercy was this,

*Et restituiam iudices tuos*, And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. Where

F

First,

First, we have as I told you, a Restauration promised, *Et restitutionem*, that's the first thing: take the person with it, for 'tis Gods doing and not mans, *I will restore.*

Secondly, the persons restored. Those are of very great consideration in a Community, *Judices tuos, & consiliarios tuos, Thy Judges and thy Counsellors.*

Thirdly, the Qualification of the persons, they must be, *Ut fuerunt prius, & sicut antiquitus*, none of the new Module, or fitted for a new-fangled Government, *But thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning.* And this gives

A new name to the Community, as if they were new Christned by good Judges and faithfull Counsellors, *Afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.*

I begin with the Restauration  
as

as it is promised here, *Et restitui-  
am, And I will restore.* This re-  
storing is an Act of infinite Mer-  
cy in God, considering how all  
the world is set upon Destruction  
and Desolation. The Devil  
himself is called the destroyer,  
*Abaddon*, or *Ἀπολλύων*, *Apoc. 9. 11.*  
The exterminating Angel: but  
when he was gone, *Va unum abiit*,  
follows upon it, one woe went  
with him. And no wonder then  
if wicked men be of the same  
Trade with the Devil, and de-  
light in nothing but Destruction.  
*Destruction and unhappiness is in  
their wayes, Psal. 14.* 'Tis a roade  
they can never get out of, a way  
they have to destroy themselves,  
and, if they can, to destroy others  
with them.

He that shall look over the  
World, and consider what Deso-  
lations have been made in every  
corner of it at one time or other,  
will see the print of the Devils

foot in all places, and that the destroyer hath been there.

Even in the holy places themselves. When ye shall see the Abomination of Desolation standing in the holy place, That we have seen in this, and many other places besides; the Abomination of Desolation got into Churches, no place could be excused from Violence; but then 'twas time to flie into the Mountains, and every body to shift for himself. 'Tis a complaint the Prophet makes of such men as These, *Locum ejus desolaverunt,* *Psal. 79. 7.* *For they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling place.* And if they make thus bold with Gods house, 'tis no wonder if they make no bones of devouring one another, and there be a Desolation in other places too. A very Wildernesse every place was become; God sustained his own people forty yeares in the Wildernesse,

derneſſe, and we have been ſuſtained half that time here: In a Wilderneſſe where there hath been nothing but Deſolation and Deſtruction in every corner of the Land.

If there were not a time to gather ſtones in *Eccleſiaſtes*, as well as there is a time to caſt them away, and a time to Plant, as well as to pull up that which is Planted, we might look for a Deſolation indeed, and that there would not be one ſtone left upon another; not onely in the Temple, but in the City, yea and in the Country too: And this time of gathering and planting is Gods time, the time of pulling up and eradicating is the Devils and Wicked mens. Root and Branch ! Unmerciful men, that could think of ſuch an eradication as that was. *Charitas autem ædificat* : Surely there was no Charity among them.



Well, 'twas time God should think of Planting and Restoring, lest all should have become an absolute Wilderness indeed. And God takes upon him this Work, *He that is the repairer of the Breaches, that is resolved to save you, and to build the Cities of Judah, Psal. 102. That sayes to Ierusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited, and to the Cities of Judah, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed places thereof, Isa. 44. 26.*

'This is a work proper for God Almighty. 'Tis an easie thing to pull down, every hand can do that, like Scholars that may be perfect in the Analyticks, and 'tis all the Logick most men have. But to compose and put together, that requires Skill and Strength in the Architect. He must be a wise builder, as 'twas said of him in the Gospel; and so he must be Strong and Rich, and have many other Qualifications

tions besides; lest it be said of him as 'tis there in that Chapter, *This man began to build, and was not able to finish*, St. Luke 14. 30. That's the case of many in the world, they are not able to finish. God is, he is Omnipotent, able to finish, and willing to finish too.

Therefore he delights in making. And if he had not made the World, it had not been made till this time: And if he had not made every thing that's in it, it had lain in its first *Chaos* still. But there is a Chapter of the Creation in *Genesis*, and St. John sums it up in a Verse: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt*, *All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing that was made*, St. John 1. 3. As all things were made by him, so all things were marred by the Devil. And therefore it must be the same hand again to restore, as well as to make.

And that keeps God Almighty alwaies imployed, *Pater meus operatur usque adhuc*, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work, in restoring and repairing the breaches which the Devil and wicked men make in the world.* And till the time of the Restitution of all things be come, he will never be at rest, but he is mending and restoring of some thing or other still. *And then at the day of judgement there will be a restitution of all things*, Acts 3. 21.

But this *all things* is but a generall expression of Gods making and restoring. And we have spoken of nothing but things hitherto that have come into Gods hands, whether to be made or made again. But what say we to persons then? They are more considerable then any thing else certainly. The King of Sodom was of that mind: *Give me the persons*, sayes he, *take the goods to thy*

thy self. And persons are of more value then any goods, and may do more hurt or good in the world; especially such persons as they may be. The Sun is not more necessary then some men: and they that take them away, do as good as *Tollere solem*, in the Orators phrase, take the Sun out of the World. Therefore the restoring of such is as great a Mercy as the making of a *New Heaven and a new Earth*, for when we have that, that which St. Peter sayes we look for, 2 Pet. 3. 13. There shall but dwell righteousness there; and when we have these, the persons promised in the Text, *There will be a city of righteousness here.*

Therefore 'tis time we come to consider the persons, and they indeed are most worthy our consideration, who bring such a blessing as that with them.

2. *Iudices tuos, & consiliarios*

F 5

*tuos,*

*twos, Thy judges, and thy counsellors.*

*Thy judges first.* And that takes in the Supreme Judge as well as the Subordinate. And the *Israelites* you know were governed by Judges as well as Kings, such as had the Sovereign Power invested in their persons, therefore to restore thy Judges will take in the Supreme Judge with them.

Pro. 8. 15. *And so 'tis. By me Kings reign, and Princes execute judgement.* 'Tis the imployment of Kings to execute Judgement, and the Judges to execute it in their names. Therefore among the Judges that are restored, we must look with an awefull Reverence upon the Supreme Judge first, and adore the goodnesse of God in the Restauration of him.

*Et restituum iudices,* God hath made his word good in the Restauration.

stauration of the King; for, as God sits in the Congregation of the Princes, and is a Judge among Gods; so the King sits in the Congregation of the Judges, and he is a Judge among them. And this Judge God hath restored to us, and of all Acts of Mercy and Restauration in God, none was ever greater then this. We see it, and it is marvellous in our eyes; but how he came to be restored God Almighty onely knows, for he onely did it.

*Ego restituiam*, here comes in the person; as it was in the making of man, he consulted onely with himself, *faciamus*, He, and the other persons of the blessed Trinity; so 'twas in the restoring and making again of the King. He consulted not with flesh and bloud, as 'tis there, nor did he make use of any arme or hand but his own; it was he that made him, and restored him, and not  
we.

we, or any body else. And so God takes it to himself here, *I will restore him, Ut non gloriatur omnis caro*, that no flesh should boast in his presence, nor the glory of it be given to any body else.

And yet I know there be some that do boast of it, and think 'twas a work highly meritorious in themselves. If they did it, I do not envy them the glory of it. But they should remember the flie upon the Axel-tree, and that the dust was raised by some body else. Even by him that took off the wheels of *Pharaohs* Chariots, that they drove heavily; so he threw dust in the eyes of our drivers, that they could not see, nor understand one another; and so the King was restored before they themselves were aware of it. But I had rather look upon God in this action, then admire the greatness of a flie through any  
Mul-



Multiplying-glasses whatsoever. *Ego restituum judices, I will restore thy judges:* That for the persons restoring.

But in the Restauration of the King, the Judges were restored too. And a Restauration of both was very necessary. I know we had Judges when we had no King, and so we had Counsellors too. They know best from whom they had their Commission, and I have no Authority to examine that, or to ask the question, *Quis te constituit judicem, Who made thee a judge?* 'Tis enough for us that now we are sure we have Judges lawfully called. The great Thieves do not lead away the less now, as the Philosopher said once, but we have Judges of Gods and the Kings making.

And what a blessing is it that we have them? If by Judges here we understand the Civil Ma-

Magistrate at large, as some Interpreters do, all those that do not affect Anarchy, and to live under no Government, must acknowledge the necessity of them. *But every man did what was good in his own eyes*, was no great commendation of the Government, or of the no-Government rather, when 'twas said before, *In those dayes there was no King in Israel*. And you may see what were the effects of it in the Verse before, *The man Micah had a houseful of Gods, there Idolatry crept in, and he consecrated one of his Sons who became a Priest*, 'tis in the Book of Judges Chapter 17. Verse 5. But a Priest He was of his own making: there was another encroachment, such as we had many, but without any Consecration at all, when there was no King with us. They did what they could to have no Priests neither; and in a little time

time more we should have had no Religion ; for when he is gone that is the keeper of the Tables, as the King is, what wonder is it if the Tables themselves be broken, the Laws of God and man violated, and there be neither Religion nor Honesty in the world ? This is the fruit of no King, and of no Government in a Nation. Anabaptists and other Fanatical persons may like it. But we have felt the smart of it, and therefore we gratefully acknowledge the benefit of restoring the King and the lawful Magistrate to us.

But *Restitutam* judices points more particularly to them, whose peculiar Office it is to judge : And then what greater blessing can be given to a Nation then this ? To send down Justice again from Heaven, which seemed to have taken her Farewell of the world before;

—Ter—

— *Terras Astrae reliquit.* —

She was absolutely gone and taken her flight ; and now to see her restored again, to have her brought home to our very doors, by Judges *as at the first* ; who can look upon this but as a blessing from Heaven ? Righteousness shall go before him, and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven, whither she was gone before. This is a Restauration of Justice worthy of God Almighty.

Why then, *Salve justitia*, as 'tis said of the Emperor *Maximilian*, That he was wont to vail his Bonnet as often as he passed by any place of Execution, and cry, *God maintain justice* ; so we that are Subjects, and have much more need of justice then the King hath, should say the like, and bid Justice welcome home, that hath been a stranger amongst us so many years. And so we should

Cam. Hist.  
Med. lib. 4.

should kiss the feet of those that bring it, the Judges that God promiseth to restore here: They are a second sort of Evangelists, they bring glad tidings of Righteousness, that's as good as Peace; for *Righteousness and Peace kiss each other* too, and therefore let us thankfully kiss the feet of them that bring both; for without Righteousness there would be no Peace: *Magna regna* would be but *magna latrocinia*, so many Park-Corners every place in the Kingdom would be, and there would be no more security in the City then in the Countrey; for Justice was exiled from both: And those petty *Nimrods* that hunt and take Purses upon the High-way, would take them in the High-streets too, in *Cheapside*, if there were no justice to keep them in awe.

But remember, that for all these things God will bring thee to judg-

judgment; if it be but in the next world 'tis enough to cool the courage of any *Acctor* of them all: And then much more if it be in this. For most men can be contented to trust God Almighty with their Souls, that dare not trust an Earthly Judge with their Bodies: And though they are forbid to fear them, that is, comparatively more then God, *that can cast both body and soul into Hell-fire*, yet they are awed onely with those that can kill the body. And if he be in the literal sense, *Judex ante ostium*, if the Judge stand before the door, 'tis the greatest security that there will be peace and quierness in the house.

For men are not good but against their wills. *Then fear*, that's a greater Bridle to restrain us from evil, then all the Promises in the world; for *he beareth not the sword in vain*. 'Tis the  
Sword

Sword that keeps the world in awe, Rewards will not do it: but while there is a Sword-bearer, and he bears him not in vain; *then fear*, and in the mean time honest men may walk the streets without fear.

But without Justice they cannot. 'Tis so necessary in a Commonwealth, that those that are the greatest Violators of Justice, Thieves and Robbers themselves cannot be without it, *Ne illi quidem qui scelere pascuntur*, sayes *Cicero* De Off. l. 2., They that live upon Robbing and Stealing; yet they cannot live *sine particula justitie*, there must be something of justice among them: He that robs or steals from his fellow, sayes he, shall be turned out of the Fraternity, and be suffered to rob no more. And there be *Leges latronum*, certain Laws among them, which they themselves require to be observed: and some that  
were



were more honest then the rest, were famous for the observing of them : He instances in *Vargulus* and *Viriatius*, which last was not less famous for his justice, then that a *Roman* Army was fain to be sent out to suppress him. But though *when Thieves fall out, honest men may hope to come to their goods*, yet they themselves must look to be undone by it; and if *Satan be divided against himself, his Kingdom cannot stand*, no more can the Kingdom of men neither; but there must be Justice and Righteousness in them, or else all must come to confusion : If we look for judgment, and there be none; we may look for salvation too, but it will be far from us, *Isa. 59. 10*. But if Oppression come in the room of it, and instead of Righteousness if there be a Cry, *Ecce clamor*, as 'tis there; if such Weeds, or Brambles rather, spring up in the Vineyard instead

instead of it, though it be the House of *Israel* it self, *Gods own vineyard*, *Isa. 5. 7.* yet *Auferam sepem ejus* will follow upon it, *I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be laid waste.* And therefore to prevent that, and to preserve the Hedges and Inclosures of *Meum* and *Tuum*, which must be preserved if we will preserve any thing, unless we will turn Levellers again, and lay all in common, which you see God laid as a judgment upon *Israel* in that Text; how much doth it concern us to maintain Justice and Righteousness amongst us?

Indeed Justice is the soul of a Common-wealth, it lives no longer then that is duly administred: And Desolation follows in that Chapter, where Oppression went before. *Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair without Inhabitant*, at the 9. Verse of the Chapter. And therefore  
what

what a blessing is returned, when Justice is returned to us, and brought home to our doors by wise and learned Judges? *I will restore thy judges.*

*And thy counsellors too.* We must not leave them out, because they are put into the Text; for Counsel is as necessary as Judgement, and so are the Counsellors too. *In the multitude of Counsellors there is safety; Solomon was a wise Prince, and he knew it; and if his Son Rehoboam had followed his Counsel, and the advice which the old men gave him, the ten Tribes had not so easily revolted from him as they did.*

2 Kin. 18.  
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*But I have counsel and strength for the War, and they were not vain words, though the King of Assyria said they were; for all his great Army was able to do King Hezekiah no hurt. But if it be a Nation void of Counsel, as God complained of his people there,*

*Dent.*

*Deut. 32.28.* 'tis no wonder if they be destined to ruine by and by. *Therefore I will restore thy counsellors,* is an argument that God meant to preserve them; for counsel is before strength in the Judgement of King *Hezekiah* in that place.

But *Et consiliarios tuos*, at this time calls for another Interpretation of the words; for there is not onely the Kings Learned Counsel, but the Judges Counsel, and the Peoples Counsel too. I doubt they are not all Restored as the Text sayes here, for we have seen the faces of some of them before now. But whether they be or no, good counsel is not to be refused, what ever the persons be; for there is need of them, and we cannot be without them: For when God sayes, I will take away the Honourable man and the Counseller, he intended it as a heavy Judgement upon

upon *Israel*, even when there was no Counsellor, *That when I asked, could answer a word, Isa. 41. 28.*

But first there is the Judges Counsel or his Assistants, which you will, and there is a full Appearance of them, *Consiliarios tuos sicut antiquitus*, a Bench full of Justices again, persons of Eminency in their Country, and to whom we owe the Peace of it.

Secondly, there are the peoples Counsel, their Counsell learned in the Law, Counsellors they are called who are able to Counsel them in the Chamber, and to speak for them at the Bar.

I know there be some Phana- tical people, who, as they would take away all Judges and Magi- strates, so they would take away all Counsellors too; Enemies to all Professions and Callings of men. They would preach them- selves, and so they would plead themselves too. The long Robe  
is

is a fashion they like not, and the Lawyers Gowns, as well as the Canonical Coats, are an Eye-fore to them. If such mens Causes miscarry before the Judges, they must thank themselves, while they prevaricate against their wills, and, for want of knowledge in the Law, give the Cause they would defend. We cannot rank these among the *Consiliarios tuos* in the Text; they be their own Counsellors, and not thine; and if they perish by their counsel, who can help it?

But thy Counsellors are presumed to be men of knowledge in their profession, such as speak not without book, but are able to give counsel to them that aske it of them.

And I wish they would give it to those that are poor and indigent, and have nothing to give for it: *But such as I have I give thee. Alas! Silver and Gold they*

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have

*The Third Sermon.*

have none, and to them they that give their Counsel without it, would have never the less.

But Counsellors are a blessing to a Nation as well as Judges, yet not every Counsellor neither nor every Judge; for both have their Qualifications in the Text, *I will give thee judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning.*

*Sicut fuerunt prius, and Sicut antiquitus;* this must make us to look back to the beginning. And there we find very good Judges indeed, and very good Counsellors, *Moses, Joshua, and Samuel,* such Judges were able to make it a Golden Age wherein they lived, and such Counsellors as they had. *Moses* tells *Peter* his Father in law, his manner of judging; *When they have a matter they come unto me, and I judge between one and another, and I make them know the statutes of God,*



God, and his Lawes, *Exod. 18, 16.* If Gods Lawes be the standard, you may be sure the Judgement cannot be amisse. A Judge he was that preferred the peoples safety before his own. *Salus populi*, it was the Supteme Law with him. And therefore he cryes out to God, *Dele me, Blot me out of the Book rather then these,* *Exod. 32, 32.* And so *Joshua* succeeded him in his care and Government of the people; who, among other signes of his good Government, made the Sun stand still in *Gibeon*, and God hearkned to the voice of a man, as 'tis there, *Josh. 10. 13.* Till the people had avenged themselves of their enemies. And for *Samuel* to omit the rest that came between, for the time would fail me to tell of *Gideon*, and of *Barak*, and of *Sampson*, and of the rest of them, as the Apostle to the *Hebrews* speaks of the Judges, but for *Samuel*,

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how

*The Third Sermon.*

how doth he challenge the world to lay any thing that looks like Corruption to his charge? *Whose Oxe have I taken, or of whom have I received any Bribe?* Witnesse against me, they could not. And though it were an Ass laden with Gold he could not enter where he was, and therefore a Golden Age it must be still. And so for the Counsellors to such Judges, no doubt they knew all of them to make a good choice of them, as *Moses* did for himself by the advice of *Iethro*, men fearing God and hating Covetousnesse. As 'twas said of *Ioseph* of *Armathea* afterward, Honourable Counsellors they were.

Such were the Judges, and Counsellors before, and how much they were degenerated afterward, we have a sad account of it in this Chapter but three Verses before my Text, *Tby Princes are Companions of Thieves. Omnes dil-*

*diligant munera*, Every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards, they judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widow come before them. Why such Judges would be flay'd, be it spoken with Reverence to those that are not such, as *Cambyses* is said to have served such a one. But if good Judges may be restored in their places, *Ut fuerunt prius*, and *sicut antiquitus*, what a blessing must this be? When the poor man need not thank his good fortune, that he took the Judge in a good moode, *Gaudeat de bona fortuna*, as *Montaigne* sayes, 'twas wont to be a by-word with them in *France*, and when the Judge doth not write too often in the Margin of his book, *Casus pro amico*, a Case for a friend, as he sayes one did, as often as *Bartolus* and *Boldus* could not agree upon the point, and left the Case doubtful. But he will own no

friend at all, nor relation upon the Bench, *Panit personam amici*, he hath no friend then, but he is like *Melchisedech*, without Father, or Mother, or Children, or Friends, this is *Sicut erant prius*, one of the old Judges, whom God sends as a blessing to the people.

And so for the old Counsellors, they were alwaies *Consiliarii pacis*, as *Solomon* calls them, *Prov. 12. 20. Counsellors of peace*, they did not encourage their Neighbours or their Clients in going to Law, but they laboured to compose their differences; all their Counsels and Discourses were *Apta temperandis animis*, as *Drusus* his in *Tacitus* were: they strove to a reconciliation still, they did not make the Rent wider, and for that they had joy in their own Consciences, as 'tis there. He that doth otherwise is none of the old Counsellors.

No

No more is he that will not speak in a good Cause without excessive rewards. I am not so severe as the Senate was under *Tyberius*, when they called for *Ligem cinctam*, wherein Advocates were to plead for nothing, and they would not have them *Vendere operam*, or have *Vocem venalem*. No, I know that Eloquence and Knowledge in the Law doth not *Gratis contingere*, as 'twas urged then, it did not cost them nothing, and that *sublati studiorum pretis etiam studia peritura*, without Rewards Professions will come to nothing. But yet after a long debate before *Tyberius*, as the result was in *Tacitus*, *Capiendis pecuniis posuit modum*, so I would have a Meane set for Fees, lest otherwise the Remedy prove worse then the Disease; and a man were better lose his right, then go about to recover it. As he tells of one *Sa-*

*Tac. Annal. lib. 10.*

*minus* a Gentleman of Rome, who,  
 when he had given his Lawyer  
*Quadringenta Nummorum millia*,  
 I will not English it, for the ill  
 use that may be made of it, and  
 when he found at last he had pre-  
 varicated the Cause too, he kil-  
 led himself in his Lawyers Cham-  
 ber. That was but a sad Cata-  
 strophe of a Law suit, and I think  
 I have heard of something like it.  
 But you will all justifie me so far,  
 if any man exceed this way, and  
 that many do; 'tis too notorious,  
 'tis not *sicut antiquitus*, if you  
 look back but thirty or forty  
 yeares since; I think then no such  
 Rewards were heard of. And you  
 cannot say this is *Vetus querela*,  
 because 'tis a Modern offence.  
 But it would be reformed, lest  
 otherwise we do *Portum Eloquen-  
 tia salutarem aperire piratis*, as  
*Quintilian* sayes, make the Ha-  
 ven of Eloquence a harbourn for  
 Thieves and Robbers, and that  
 we

we may make good the promise of God in the Text, *Consiliarios tuos, sicut antiquitus, I will restore thy counsellors as at the beginning.*

I will not tell you, 'tis the reason of these abuses in the practice of the Law, but in other things, that which God makes the standard to reform by here in the Text, is made the great stone of offence; that in matters of Religion 'tis so I am sure. If you tell them of *sicut fuerunt prius*, and *sicut antiquitus*, of any things that were used heretofore; why, *Eo nomine*, as we use to say, it shall be rejected for Popery and Superstition, and I know not what.

We will have nothing that's Old. But we must tell them who were Consuls, the Moneth and the day, and then write *Edita est fides Catholica*, Such a year their new Religion began, as *Athanasius* complains of the *Arrians* in the Ecclesiastical story. So no-

*Sacr. Eccl. Hist. lib. 65 cap. 29.*



Tert. ad-  
vers. Mar-  
tian. lib. 1.  
cap. 8.

thing but new things please this new generation of men ; *Quasi nos veteris Dei pudeat*, sayes Tertullian : Why so we may be ashamed of God Almighty, because he is called the *Ancient of dayes*. The truth is, Antiquity must be the standard, as I said but now, when all's done : *From the beginning it was not so*, our Saviour brings them to that in the matter of Divorce. And so Tertullian sayes, *In quantum falsum corruptio est veri, in tantum precedat necesse est veritas falsum* ; Because falshood is the corruption of truth, therefore truth must go before falshood : And *Illud optimum quod primum* was his rule, The earlier the truer every thing must be. Therefore *sicut antiquitus* should be no scandal to sober men. But I considered the dayes of old, and the years that are past, sayes David ; for they will be the best Counsellors for other things,

Ibid. lib. 4.  
cap. 4.

things, and therefore no bad ones for the Counsellors themselves.

Well, say what we will, *ut fuerunt prius* and *sicut antiquitus*, are a blessing upon a Nation. We know what it means, *Res novas moliri*, and we have no reason to be in love with Innovations for their sakes; we have payed dear for our News. But now *sicut antiquitus*, to see the old face of things restored, to see *Judges as at the first*, and *Counsellors as at the beginning*; the good old Justices. I mean, as well as the old Lawyers, if there be any of them left, to see Justice run in the old Channel again, (for though we might have it before, yet the course of the stream was altered, and many times it ran over the banks) to hear *Carolus Dei gratia* in the Commission again, instead of *Custodes libertatis*, (and how they kept it we all know) or instead of some body that was worse, if worse.

*The Third Sermon.*

worse might be ; how must this revive the hearts, and chear up the spirits, of honest men ?

For I will confess to you, in our late dispensations of Justice, for my own particular, I never took any comfort at all ; when the Judges and Justices themselves methought looked like so many guilty persons, and a man could hardly tell which were the greatest offenders, whether they, or the Prisoners that stood before them. But Justice, I know, was necessary howsoever, and because they brought that, they are to be excused.

But now we have *judices ut fuerunt prius*, and *consiliarios sicut antiquitus*, the Kings Judges and Justices again ; King Charles his Judges, as venerable as Queen Elizabeths Knights were wont to be ; like old Okes, *qua non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem*, as Quintillian sayes, and

and they dispense Justice to every body that desires it. And this is as great a blessing as a Nation is capable of ; for now

Justice gives a Denomination to the People themselves, and to the Community that are made up of them ; so we have it in the close of the Text.

*Posthac vocaberis civitas justitia, urbs fidelis, Afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.* What they were or might be called before without justice, I told you before, even no better then a City of Robbers, a Den of Thieves : But now they have a new name, *The city of righteousness.*

There was a King of that name in Scripture, *Melchisedech, The King of righteousness*, so the word signifies, *Heb. 7. 2.* And here's a People like their King, *A City of righteousness too.* Or *the City of the righteous man, Civitas*

*vitas justis*, in the Vulgar Translation, The City of the just person, of *Melchisedech*, as I said but now, or the King of righteousness: for the King of righteousness must be a righteous and just King, else that Name had not been proper for him.

And that King was Christ, *The just one*, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν, so we find him called, *Acts 3.14*. *Ye have denyed the holy and the just one: He that was a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech*; and so after his order he was a righteous King too; and the City shall be called after his name, *A city of righteousness*. But then as Christ vouchsafes his other Titles to Kings, *Dixi, Dii estis*, *I have said, Ye are Gods*; and *Touch not my Christs*: so he will not deny them this, Every righteous King is a *Melchisedech*, a King of righteousness, and his *Dominions* shall be called *Civi-*

*tas justi*, The City of the righteous man; or from the influence which a good King hath over his Subjects, *the City of righteousness* it self: For by themselves alone Kings cannot be righteous, but every body else will follow the fashion. And *Civitas* here is not Latine for the Kings Court onely, or his Palace, which indeed may be well called the Palace of righteousness, where the King is a just Prince; but this Righteousnesse is diffused further,

— *Regis ad exemplum*, —  
even to all the People, and 'tis now a City of righteousness.

What happiness may not such a City promise it self? We have read or heard of an *Utopia*, or *Plato's Commonwealth*, and some men are apt to dream of it; no Government will please them but that, where Angels must dwell instead of Men, for there

there must be no faults nor errors in the Government. Here's the place they wot of, not in a fiction but in truth ; for 'tis in righteousness here. Since the old Judges and Counsellors are restored, they shall be called *the City of righteousness.*

And what name can be more proper, where Justice is duly administered, and mens Properties are preserved, and Invaders of other mens Rights punished, and the Oppressions of the Widows and Fatherlesse redressed, and there is no *Complaining in the streets*, as 'tis in the Psalme : 'tis a *City of righteousness* you may be sure, and the People are happy that live in it.

To be free of some Cities some men will give much ; *With a great summe obtained I this freedom*, said the Chief Captaine to Saint Paul, and yet 'twas but to be a Free-man of *Rome*, which



which was no City of righteousness neither, especially under such an Emperour as *Claudius* or *Nero*. What would one give to be free of this City? as *Saint Paul* was there, to be born free, *A City wherein dwelleth righteousness*, as *Saint Peter* speaks of that City which is in Heaven, and wherein righteous men dwell.

'Tis in us beloved to make it a City of Righteousnesse here, and a Heaven upon Earth. 'Tis not in the King alone, though he be a *Melchisedech*, a King of Righteousnesse, as I told you: Nor in the Judges neither, though they be never so Righteous themselves, nor in the Justices and Counsellors, though they be *sicut antiquitus*, Reformed never so much; yet if the people be the same they were, 'tis they that denominate the City; and 'tis most usuall

usuall for them to complain of unrighteousnesse and bad times, who themselves make them so. But 'tis in us I say to reforme our selves, and to make it a City of Righteousnesse. Great advantages we have, and encouragements by a Righteous King, and good Judges and Counsellors to make us Righteous. But if they be *sicut antiquitus*, and we be not so, but *sicut heri*, and we will be of the new Mode still, and as we were, we must thank ourselves, if it be not a City of Righteousnesse. Well, *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still*; but if we be so, we must look to bear the blame of it, for frustrating Gods designe in the Text, which is to make us *A city of righteousness*.

And a faithfull city too. *Urbs fidelis*, this is the last circumstance, and it comes near us indeed.

indeed. 'Tis above Verse 21.  
*How is the faithfull city become  
 an Harlot?* It implies, as it we  
 had been unfaithfull before.  
 The *Septuagint* read it, *Μητρο-  
 πολις*, the faithfull *Μητρο-  
 πολις* or Mother City. I know  
 not how that word came in;  
 but it tempts me to say some-  
 thing which I must not, for the  
 very many righteous persons  
 sakes that were in it, even then  
 when the times were at the  
 worst. I will not therefore look  
 back: But for the future I will  
 Prophecie better, because I have  
 warrant for it in the Text, *Voca-  
 beris Urbs fidelis, Thou shalt be call-  
 ed the faithfull city.*

The brand of Infidelity espe-  
 cially to a lawfull King, as it  
 is most odious, so the Title of  
 faithfulness is most glorious.  
*Vocaberis Urbs fidelis, Thou shalt  
 be called the faithfull city;* it should  
 be written upon the Gates of  
 them

them that were so, and it deserves to stand upon Record to the Eternall Honour of them, and of this poor City in particular, that durst own the Authority of the King, even then, when He was going to the Block.

But now every City shall be so called, faithful to their Prince, and faithful to their God too: faithful to their God in the duties of the first Table, and faithful to their Prince in those of the second.

And so we shall be called a faithful City, and we shall shew the world our Faith by our Works, as Saint *James* would have us, by our Obedience to the King, and by our just dealings and Righteousness one towards another: And for this God will reward us, and carry us from this City of Righteousness and faithfulness here,

to his Kingdom of Righteousness in Heaven.

*Whither we beseech him to bring  
us all, for the Merits of his  
Son Christ Iesus;  
To whom, &c.*

**Amen.**

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**FINIS.**

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